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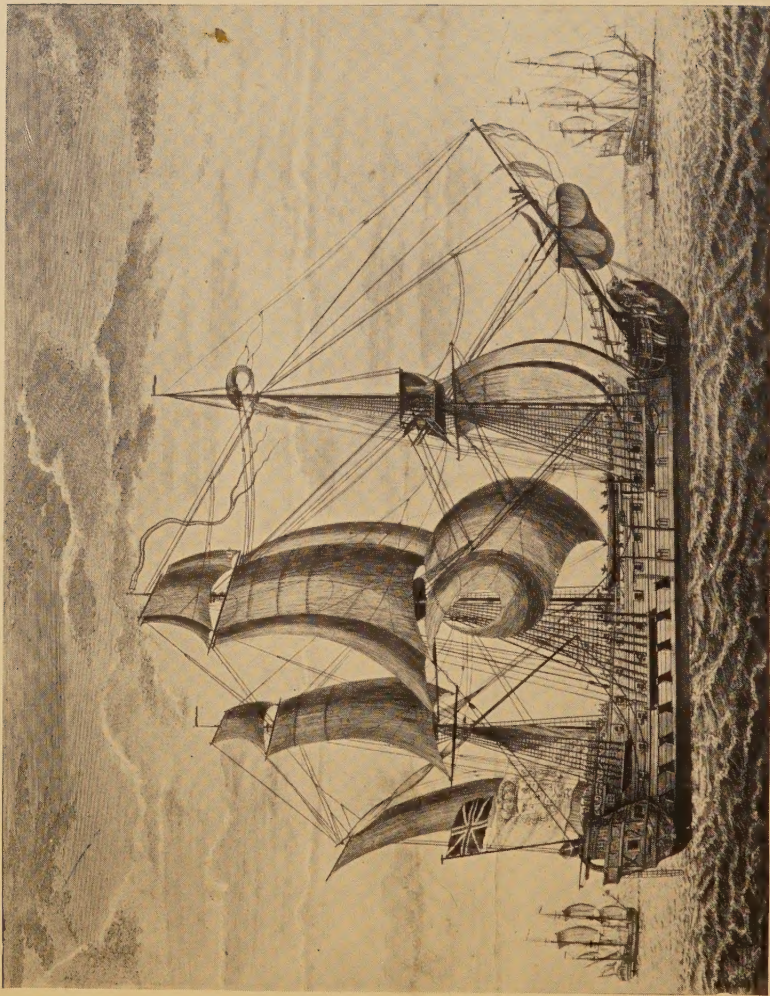
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THE
VOYAGES AND CRUISES
OF Commodore WALKER

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The *Glorioso*, Spanish man-of-war of seventy-four guns, after her capture.

From an engraving after a painting by R. Short.

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THE VOYAGES AND CRUISES OF COMMODORE WALKER

With Introduction and Notes
by H. S. VAUGHAN

WITH 8 HALF-TONE PLATES
AND 2 MAPS



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INTRODUCTION

LITTLE is known as to the origin and authorship of this very scarce work. It has been inferred from statements in the narrative that it was written by one who accompanied Walker in all his cruises except that of the *Boscawen*, but in no instance is a clue given as to the share taken by the writer in the various enterprises. His knowledge of seamanship and the kindred arts is adequate but not obtrusive ; his literary style is plain, but that of a man of education and ability ; while, at times it is, in a restrained way, both humorous and picturesque. Whether officer, gentleman-adventurer, or super-cargo, careful research has failed to establish or even suggest his identity, and has led me to think that the story was probably written, or communicated to the writer, by Walker himself.

At the time of publication the hero had been unjustly detained in a debtors' prison for four years, and his case having come before the House of Commons in connection with proposed legislation for the relief of bankrupts, the suitable moment had arrived for arousing public interest in his career. Yet the story must not be regarded merely as an *apologia pro vitâ suâ*. It is a genuine attempt to interest and amuse the public, and breathes throughout a spirit of confident patriotism and manly independence. The essential facts are corroborated by history, while the few mistakes that occur in the text are such as might easily be made by a man writing, or recounting, his adventures in circumstances which deprived him of documents and other means of reference. Thus, his first letter of marque ship is referred to as the *Duke William*, whereas the records of the High Court and Customs prove it to have been the *William* ; the French ship *Fleurion* becomes *Florissant*, and one or two dates have needed correction. Such trivial errors only make more evident the general accuracy of the narrative, which I have proved by reference to the logs of at least a score of ships encountered by Walker, and many other documents.

A period of some twenty years in the middle of the eighteenth century must be regarded as the golden age of British privateering, alike from the immense value of the prizes taken, the striking nature of the exploits performed, and the character of the commanders

employed. Walpole's years of peace and prosperity came to an end in 1739 with the outbreak of the so-called War of Jenkins's Ear, and although that stout mariner had waited long for satisfaction in respect of his severed member and other grievances, the interval had served to increase the bitterness of national—especially mercantile—feeling against Spain and her long continued outrages on British shipping. How far the clamour against that country was reasonable in view of the illicit trading of British merchants need not be considered here.

On the declaration of war—and even before it ¹—privateering activities commenced in a business-like way. With the favourable terms of the Prize Act of 1708 (re-enacted 1740), the extension of colonisation, and the development of trade in every part of the known world, not only were the profits to be obtained far greater, but to some extent the risks were less than in the last great war. Ships were larger and better found, and the art of navigation had profited by the interval. The old rough pattern of privateer commander had begun to give way to an educated and public-spirited type of officer, who did more thinking and less cursing, and was at least the equal of the average naval officer of the period in intelligence and bravery. Of such men were Fortunatus Wright, William Hutchinson (author of the "Treatise on Practical Seamanship"); James Talbot of the *Prince Frederick*; Captain Phillips, the hero who recaptured the *Solebay* frigate, and Commodore Walker, whose fortunes and adventures are now to be reviewed.²

As a rule, applicable not only to England but to other maritime powers, it may be said that in those periods of naval history when the fleet was efficient and well maintained there was little scope for privateering, which tended to become a piratical nuisance. This happened during the Seven Years' War, after the British navy had recovered from its long period of inefficiency.³ Conversely, an example is furnished by the brilliant era of the French corsairs, when the great fleet organised by Colbert for Louis XIV could no longer be maintained owing to the exhaustion of the treasury.

The period of our own naval history during which Walker made his reputation as a privateer commander is one painful to look back upon. Contemporary literature teems with unpleasant details. The public journals, the reports of the House of Commons, and a flood of anonymous pamphlets furnish materials for those who need to investigate them. Indeed, it almost seems to the student, wading among this

¹ Instructions for privateers against Spain were issued July 20, 1739. War was declared Oct. 19 (P.R.O., Adm. Ct. Misc. 91).

² "Walker and Wright did as much to uphold British prestige at sea as any captains of the Royal Navy." Laird Clowes, "The Royal Navy," vol. iii, p. 276.

³ In 1759 the commander of a privateer was hung at Execution Dock for robbing a Dutch ship on the high seas. "Gents. Mag.," 1759, 604.

garbage, as if nothing important ever happened for many years without somebody being court-martialled for it. Walker himself was brought closely in contact with an affair of this kind when he, a prisoner on board the *Fleurion*, was witness of the unwillingness of four English ships of the line to attack two French men-of-war. With a succession of such incidents, and the knowledge that the naval service was rife with personal jealousy and intrigue, it is no wonder that the public mind became nervous.

In such an atmosphere at sea appeared Captain Walker, only a privateer it is true, but a man of a type that was to be justified in the royal service a few years later by Hawke and his great successors. Clear-headed, determined, and always sure of himself in a way that carried his people with him, Walker's professional skill and knowledge of affairs combined to make a rare character. He was what the French call *rusé*,—an artful or subtle man,—and how often this quality pulled him, his men, and his owners out of difficulties the narrative will presently show. Add to these attributes a dry but kindly humour and a persistent cheerfulness, and you have a type that would have been invaluable in the regular service of his country at that very period. Unlike the French, however, the British navy admitted of no entry from the merchant service except in a rank so junior as to be, for Walker, out of the question, so that he remained to the end of his life without official recognition; and being without interest, and never having acquired the high art of improving his own fortunes by intrigue or bluff, he died in comparative obscurity.

A brief account of the origin of privateering and its conditions in the middle of the eighteenth century, is desirable before commencing the story. The first recorded licence to "annoy the King's enemies" was granted by Henry III, in 1243, to one Geoffrey Pyper, master of the ship *Le Heyte*—"so that they share with Us the half of all their gain." In 1293, to a British subject who complained that the Portuguese had confiscated his vessel and cargo, letters were granted authorising him to despoil the people of Portugal and their goods until he had recovered the value of his possessions,—*marchare, retinere, et sibi appropriare*.¹ Difficulty has been raised over the interpretation of the first of these words, but if we accept the explanation that it is derived from O. Fr. (Provençal) *marcar*, to seize in pledge,² the phrase becomes *to seize in pledge, retain and appropriate*,—which exactly fits the intention and practice as regards letters of marque from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth.

Distressed subjects had to prove their losses to the satisfaction of the Court. Gradually the distinction between the letter of marque or reprisal, the object of which was solely compensation, and the

¹ Nicolas, "History of the R. Navy," i, 276.

² N.E.D.

commission issued to a privateer, the purpose of which was to attack and plunder the King's enemies in war time, became obliterated. Issue of the former had practically ceased before the Restoration. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the term letter of marque (sometimes *mart*) had come to mean the licence issued to private ships of war as such, carrying a large fighting crew, and also to armed merchant ships carrying a cargo with an ordinary crew but exempted from convoy and permitted to attack an enemy vessel without thereby infringing the piracy laws.¹

The letter of marque was granted by the High Court of Admiralty after a Declaration made by the "Owners and Setters forth" of the ship, and a Bond (bail for good behaviour) was entered into by them and the captain. In order to encourage privateers a new Prize Act had been passed in 1708, but too late to have much effect during the war then proceeding. It was re-enacted in 1740 and its favourable terms led to the activities in which Walker took a brilliant part.

Instructions for privateers were issued by the Government from time to time, and affected all such matters as manning and equipment, wearing of colours, conduct towards neutrals, procedure as to prize, ransom, disposal of prisoners, etc.² Every commander had a copy of these instructions, and he was bound by them to render a copy of his journal to the Secretary of the Admiralty. Unfortunately, none of these journals seem to be in existence either at the Admiralty or Public Record Office. Many, no doubt, were lost or destroyed as described in the narrative at the end of the first voyage. Happily for the reputation of officers so capable as Walker and Wright the former has left us his "Voyages" and the latter lives in the pages of Horace Mann and other writers.

The men themselves came from much the same classes that manned the King's ships and the merchant service, that is to say they were in part of seafaring habit and in part landsmen, but they were all volunteers and not pressed men. The privateer usually secured the pick of the "prime seamen" and had a great advantage in popularity over the other services. Discipline was less severe than in the navy, and in many of the smaller ships it was very loose. In theory the privateer was "generally governed on the same plan with his majesty's ships,"³ but, unless under such exceptional commanders as Walker, it was "*with but a long way after.*" The crews were, at all events nominally, protected against that unspeakable curse of the seafarers' life, impressment. Very few naval officers cared to interfere with a well armed and heavily manned ship carrying a letter of marque. On

¹ Marsden, "Law and Custom of the Sea," I, xxvi; II, xvi.

² Marsden, "Law and Custom of the Sea," II, 103. (Instructions for Privateers, 1649-1762.)

³ Falconer, "Dict. Marine," 1776.

the other hand, the press gangs ashore sometimes attempted to attack parties of privateersmen. There was a remarkable instance near Bristol in 1759, in which the privateersmen, who were mounted on the roof of a public-house, exchanged volleys with their adversaries until one of their own men and the unfortunate landlady had been killed, when they surrendered. At Cardiff in the same year seventy men of the *Eagle* privateer of Bristol held a pitched battle with the press gang and defeated them.¹

It has been assumed that the letter of marque carried with it immunity from impressment, but that is not so. What happened was that protections were granted for so many weeks or months to parties of men travelling to make up the complement of a given privateer. When that ship came back to the coast of Britain and ran the gauntlet of the King's ships, hungry for men, there was practically no protection. The commander of a privateer was also granted protection for the whole of his crew for a definite time but this was subject to withdrawal for misconduct or for other reasons, by order of the Admiralty. The letters that follow illustrate this point :—

To Isaac Elton,
Owner of the
Bristol Privateer,
at Bristol.

ADMIRALTY,
14 June, 1745.

The Captain of H.M. Sloop *Mortar* having acquainted my L.C.A. that several of his men had deserted and were received on board the *Bristol Privateer* notwithstanding the Commander and others in the said privateer knew them to be deserters and would not give them up, nor suffer the Lieutenant of the sloop to search for them, which being contempt and prejudice to H.M. Service, I am etc. to acquaint you that orders are given to press the crew of the said privateer for the offence they have committed and the indignity shown to H.M. Service.

To the Commander of the
Pearl Privateer in the
River.

5 June, 1745.

The Bearer, Marshal of the Admiralty, having a warrant from T.L.C.A. to arrest Robert Welch belonging to the *Pearl Privateer* under your command as a deserter from H.M.S. *Princess Royal* and who has appeared at the head of a number of your men with cutlasses and pistols and greatly insulted the Lieutenants and Gangs employed in town to procure seamen for H.M. Service, Their Lordships hope you will make no difficulty to deliver up the man, but at the same time I am to let you know that if you do

¹ Latimer, "Annals of Bristol, XVIIIth Cent."

not immediately deliver him up, without any pretended Excuse, they shall look upon you as accessory to the late mutinous conduct of your people *and will recall your Protection* and order every man belonging to the ship to be Prest and if any resistance is made the ship herself shall be hindered from sailing.¹

The prospect of prize money was the great attraction to the privateer recruit, and the individual share among officers and men was far greater in proportion than that to be obtained in the navy, the object of the cruise being frankly the enrichment of the owners and ships' companies at the expense of the enemies of the State.

As a general rule the privateersmen drew no regular wages but received an advance on commissioning according to the class of ship and the generosity of the owners or the men's agent. They therefore looked solely to their share of prize money as the reward for their toil and hardships, the proceeds from the sale of captured ships and cargoes being allotted according to a definite scale agreed upon beforehand. In the case of the *Royal Family* privateers it was agreed that the officers and seamen should have one half of the prizes in lieu of wages, to be divided among them in stipulated proportions.² The system was confirmed by Royal Proclamation in 1744 :³ " In regard that privateers are set forth and manned at the charges of the particular owners thereof, who make agreements with their seamen what shares and proportions each man on board such privateer shall have of any prize which shall be taken, and it will not be reasonable that any seaman or person should be entitled to anything otherwise than according to the particular agreements he shall have signed to such owners, We do hereby ratify and confirm all such contracts which shall be entered into upon the putting forth any such privateer."

Under this system the seamen were very much in the hands of their agents, good or bad, and in view of their reckless and dissipated habits it could hardly be otherwise. In a Liverpool paper of 1756 a licensed victualler gives notice that having been appointed agent to the crews of the *Revenge* and *Mandrin* privateers, who had returned from a cruise with " valuable prizes and private plunders from the enemy " and having not only furnished them with meat, drink, and lodging but likewise procured certain merchants to furnish them with money and apparel which they were in great need of, he desires all payments and settlements of the said prizes and private plunders which concerned his clients to be made to him."⁴ " Private plunder " was restrained as far as possible by strict commanders like Walker, but it was an addi-

¹ P.R.O., Adm. 2, 1054.

² Case of *Goddard v. Jalabert & Belchier*, " Gents. Mag.," 1756.

³ Marsden, " Law and Custom of the Sea," vol. 2., p. 109.

⁴ Gomer Williams, " The Liverpool Privateers," p. 97.

tional attraction to the privateer service. The value of the cargazon, or lading of the ship, when sold, was divided into shares and dealt with according to the agreement. Private stores such as clothing or food-stuffs became free booty to the seamen; this was the old law of Pillage.¹

In regard to victuals the privateersman's dietary was much the same as that of the naval seaman, but here again a little better. The private plunder referred to sometimes provided him with a few delicacies, and his voyages being, as a rule, shorter, the provisions were not so likely to become putrid, the beer sour, or the water stinking. At the start his purveyors were able to avoid the elaborate machinery of a government department, and were forced by their system of enlistment to study the comfort of their men to some extent. Under the conditions of contemporary sea life and the limited state of resources and knowledge in regard to food in general the scale of dietary in the navy was fair and reasonable. The English seaman insisted on his salt beef and beer, and had the food been of prime quality and condition when he got it few complaints would have come down to us. He was a contented soul, except when very badly treated, and he came from a class whose standard of living on shore was pitifully low until the end of the century. Unhappily red tape, corruption and a financial stringency which is almost incredible in these days of lavish expenditure, resulted in the food being frequently old and inferior when issued, while no effective attention was paid officially to the prevention of scurvy until many years after this period. There was no "flogging round the fleet" for the privateersman who got "bloody minded" and mutinied after a long course of putrid food and sour beer; at the worst he was put in irons and handed over, later on, to the shore authority.

Every day the seaman received one pound of biscuit and one gallon of beer, or in lieu of the latter, if on a foreign station, one pint of wine or half a pint of rum, brandy, or arrack. Of salt beef he got four pounds a week, and pork two pounds, and the other items in his dietary were pease, oatmeal, butter and cheese. When in port fresh meat was issued two days a week in lieu of salt: this was none too generous, and we find Anson writing about it to the Board in 1746: "Captains complain that they are served with fresh meat only twice a week when they come in off a cruise and on beef days with one half flour. I desire their lordships will give directions for them being supplied with fresh meat every day as a means of recovering men from scurvy, of which they are seldom free."

¹ "That which is called pillage is the loose goods and apparel of the company on the upper deck, so that it exceeds not a certain proportion, and is equally to be divided to the whole company at the main mast." "Monson's Naval Tracts," N.R.S., vol. iv, 18.

Next to food, in the estimation of the sailorman, came his slops¹ or clothing. In this, as in his rations, there was not much difference at the time between the privateer and the man-of-war. Uniform clothing in the modern sense was unknown, but certain things which seamen wore were distinctive of their calling and a stock of them was supplied to each ship on commissioning by a contractor called the "slop seller" so that the men could purchase as required. The "Slop Cloaths," to use the official term, were entered in a book and charged against what was ultimately due to the men. The contract for 1740 provided for the following articles :—

Waistcoats, Striped Ticken, with 20 Buttons.

Breeches, striped linen, with 14 buttons and 2 at the waistband.

Ditto, of Kersey, ditto ditto.

Ditto, of Shag.²

Jackets, shrunk Grey Kersey, lined with cotton, 17 thread buttons.

Waistcoats, Kersey, 19 thread buttons.

(All the above in two sizes).

Shirts, blue and white chequered linen.

Drawers, of ditto, with strings to the waistband and knees.

Trousers of brown Osnaburg Canvas.

Frocks, of the same.

Stockings of Grey Yarn.

Shoes of good Neats Leather, and buckles of brass with iron tongues.

Caps, woollen, milled yarn. Hats.³

A very useful list for the period, but one rather wonders what the seaman thought—and said—about all those buttons when "all hands" were called to shorten sail on a cold dark night.

Here again, as in his rations, "private plunder" sometimes helped out the privateersman's kit. When the *Revenge* returned to Liverpool in 1756, from a successful cruise, her crew "made a handsome appearance" when they came ashore, "each man having on a clean French ruffled shirt, which they had taken on board a vessel bound to Bayonne."⁴ Before the sailor started upon the "glorious spree" which soon dissipated his prize money he loved to deck himself out in a manner suitable to the part of a returned hero. "Nothing is to be seen here," says a Bristol paragraph in the "Gloucester Journal" of

¹ Slops : a word of obscure origin, probably old Dutch or Icelandic. At an early date it denoted the wide baggy breeches or loose trousers worn by sailors, and later became a general term for the ready made clothing supplied from the ship's stores (N.E.D.) Still in use colloquially.

² Shag, a long-napped rough cloth.

³ G. E. Manwaring, "Dress of the British Seaman" ("Mariners' Mirror," Jan. 1924).

⁴ Gomer Williams, "The Liverpool Privateers," p. 96.

September 1744, "but rejoicings for the great number of French prizes brought in. Our sailors are in the highest spirits, full of money, and spend their whole time in carousing dressed out with Laced Hats, Tassels, and Swords with Sword knots."¹

The smart and popular type of privateer of 1740 was the 20-gun ship of 300 to 400 tons. A few owners fitted out suitable vessels of 500 tons or more; Walker's *Boscawen* ran to 600, but she was a French prize, the frigate *Médée* taken by Boscawen himself in the *Dreadnought*, soon after the declaration of war, and was an exceptional bargain on the sale list. The business of the privateer was not to engage the enemy's navy but to prey upon his commerce. It is true that Walker actually laid his *King George* of thirty guns alongside the Spanish seventy-gun ship *Glorioso* and fought her single-handed for three hours, an unparalleled instance of audacity and heroism in the annals of privateering, which incurred, on his return, some unfair criticisms from the commercial gentlemen who had "set him forth," but as a rule the privateer took care to give the enemy man-of-war a wide berth, and as a commerce destroyer it was to his advantage to appear as inconspicuous as possible. The small ship was therefore the ideal privateer, but she was well armed and well manned: such a vessel corresponded roughly to the 6th Rate or 20-gun frigate of the time.

Captain Hutchinson² gives a Quarter Bill for a privateer, which is reproduced here to give an idea of the composition of the ship's company and its duties in action.

QUARTER BILL, FOR A PRIVATEER OF 20 GUNS, 9-PDRS., AND 4 3-PDRS.
ON THE QUARTER DECK AND FORECASTLE

Quarter Deck

The Captain to command the whole	1
The Master to assist and work the ship, according to orders	1
A Midshipman to pass the word of command fore and aft	1
A Quartermaster at the cun ³ and another at the helm	2
The first Marine officer with 24 Musketeers	25
Three men for the 2 three-pdrs. and a boy	4

¹ Latimer, "Annals of Bristol, XVIIIth Cent."

² "Treatise on Practical Seamanship." First published in 1777, it embodies the experience gained by Hutchinson as a privateer during the Seven Years' War. The editions of 1791 and 1794, from which the Quarter Bill is taken, are sometimes catalogued as separate works, but they consist of the original text with certain omissions and additions.

³ *Cun*, or *Con*: to direct the steering of a ship from some commanding position. Hutchinson gives a note, *Cunning to the Helmsman*:—"This custom is useful in general, even when done by a Quartermaster: it answers the good purpose to confine the thoughts and attention of the helmsman to his duty, as he is obliged to repeat the *cun*. . . . When sailing is dangerous, by bad weather, etc., then *cunning* becomes a matter of great importance."

Main Deck

The First Lieut. to command the 10 foremost guns . . .	1
The Second Lieut. to command the 10 aftermost guns . .	1
The Gunner to assist and attend all great guns . . .	1
The two Master's mates to attend the fore tops'l braces and work the ship, foreward, according to orders . . .	2
The Boatswain's Mate, with 2 seamen to assist in working the ship and repair the main rigging	3
The Carpenter and crew to attend pumps and the wings about the water's edge fore and aft, with shot plugs . . .	4
6 men to each of the 10 guns on a side, and its opposite, and a boy to fetch powder	70

The Forecastle

The Boatswain to command with 2 seamen to work the ship and repair the fore rigging	3
3 men and a boy for the 2 3-pdrs.	4
The second Marine officer and 9 Musketeers	10
In the barge upon the booms the third Marine officer and 8 Musketeers	9
In the maintop 5 men with a Midshipman at small arms . .	6
In the foretop 5 men at small arms and to repair rigging . .	5
In the mizzen-top 3 men at small arms	3
In the powder rooms the Gunner's mate with an assistant to fill powder for boys	2
In the Cockpit the Doctor and his mate.	2

 160

This sample complement includes not only a captain but a master to whom was entrusted the working of the ship. In the royal navy of the period ships of 20 guns and upward were post ships, having a master as well as captain; below that class the commanding officer combined the duties and was "Master and Commander." 6th Rates were made post ships in 1720.¹

Another point of interest is the large number of small-arm men or musketeers, their officers being dignified with the title "Marine." Great importance was attached to this form of armament in the privateers, the musketeers being, of course, not uniformed soldiers but seamen or landsmen available also for working the ship. A curious instance of the use of Marine uniform occurs in the voyage of the *William*.

The Quarter Bill, representing stations for action, does not include cook ratings or purser and makes no mention of "The Musick," but

¹ "Navy Regulations," 1731 and 1745.

the privateers continued to provide for the latter in the old-fashioned way ; the drum was also carried, as in a man of war, and used to beat to arms. Complements, as shown on the letter of marque declarations of this period, mention a cook and surgeon but not a purser or captain's clerk. As a rule the control of wages, slops, and victualling was in the captain's hands, but Walker, when commodore of the *Royal Family*, carried a captain's clerk and also a chaplain.

The Colours to be worn by letter of marque ships, as well as those for merchant vessels, were prescribed by the navy instructions (1745).

" IV. Merchant ships are to wear a Red Ensign, with the Union Jack in a Canton at the upper end next the staff ; and a White Jack with a Red Cross, commonly called St. George's Cross, passing quite through the same.

" V. Ships having private commissions or letters of Mart or Reprisals, are to wear the same ensign as merchant ships ; and a Red Jack, with the Union in a Canton at the upper corner next the staff."

The regulation affecting privateers was not always strictly regarded and it is interesting to see that in Brooking's battle pieces, which illustrate this volume, the privateers are generally depicted flying the jack of the naval service.

Walker makes his earliest appearance—in a ghost story—as captain and owner of the merchant ship *Elizabeth* at Cadiz, in 1734 (p. 70). His previous service in the Dutch navy against Mediterranean corsairs remains obscure and does not affect the story of his privateering voyages except that he came to them equipped with knowledge of affairs and warlike experience. So we " take him up," as the narrator puts it, in the year 1740, when he and his fellow owners of the ship *William* took out a letter of marque for a trading voyage to the Carolinas. The following declaration was made before the High Court :—

20 Nov. 1740.

Appeared personally Capt. George Walker & produced a Warrant from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the granting of a Commission or Letter of Marque to him the said George Walker & in pursuance of H.M. Instructions to Privateers made the following declaration, that his ship is called the *William* & is of the burthen of about 200 tons, that he the Declarant goeth Commander of her, that she carries 20 guns, 30 men, 36 small arms, 36 cutlasses, 14 Barrels of powder 15 rounds of Great Shot & about 3 cwt. of small shot, that the said ship is Victualled for 6 months, has 2 & $\frac{1}{2}$ suits of sails, 5 anchors, 5 cables & about 5 cwt. of spare cordage. That John Oldham goes Lieutenant, James Douglas Gunner, Roger Dorman Boatswain, Will Cutler Carpenter, John Adams Cook, & Benjamin Turner Surgeon, & that Messrs Partick & Robert Macky of London, merchants,

& the declarant are the owners & setters forth of the said ship.¹

It is obvious that with this outfit the ship could at short notice be turned into quite a respectable privateer and this is what happened when they reached the Carolinas. In the meantime the *William* lying at Newcastle, was chartered by the contractor for victualling the garrison of Gibraltar to convey pork to that station. Two other ships, the *Sea-Nymph* and *Hannah*, laden with beef, peas, bread and flour, were despatched at the same time, and, as no man-of-war is mentioned, it may be assumed that the *William* acted as convoy to the other two.²

Well armed but under-manned for fighting, Walker saved his ship from capture by a Spanish privateer off Cape Finisterre by means of a clever trick which had been thought out in advance. He took with him a parcel of Marine clothing which no doubt included the red coats and fusilier caps that were the distinctive features of the uniform of the Marine regiments at the time.³ With these he dressed up his handspikes and other utensils so that as he says, "our fictitious soldiery served at first to intimidate the enemy" and gave the Spaniard the impression that he was up against a King's ship.

Through Lloyd's Coffee House Walker and his partners were evidently aware of the conditions which they would have to encounter on the voyage to Gibraltar. The lack of protection for British trade was a grievance with the merchants at Lisbon, and a few months later Mr. Compton, the British Consul at that port, writes to the Secretary of the Admiralty representing "the urgent need of more British cruisers to deal with the privateers who infest the mouth of the Lisbon River, but chiefly between the Burlings and the Rock. There are only two cruisers and they take it in turns to go to Gibraltar to clean."⁴

Arrived in American waters they found the coast of North Carolina defenceless and the colony was glad to accept Walker's offer of the *William* to protect the trade. The squadron of small ships on the station was doing its best but was actively employed in many other directions. General Oglethorpe's expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine, Florida, had occurred the previous summer, and Commodore Pearce in the *Flamborough*, with the *Hector*, *Phoenix*, *Spence*, *Squirrel*, and *Tartar*, had supported him until his vacillation and failure made co-operation useless, and the hurricane season beginning the ships were forced to put to sea.⁵ After that affair the

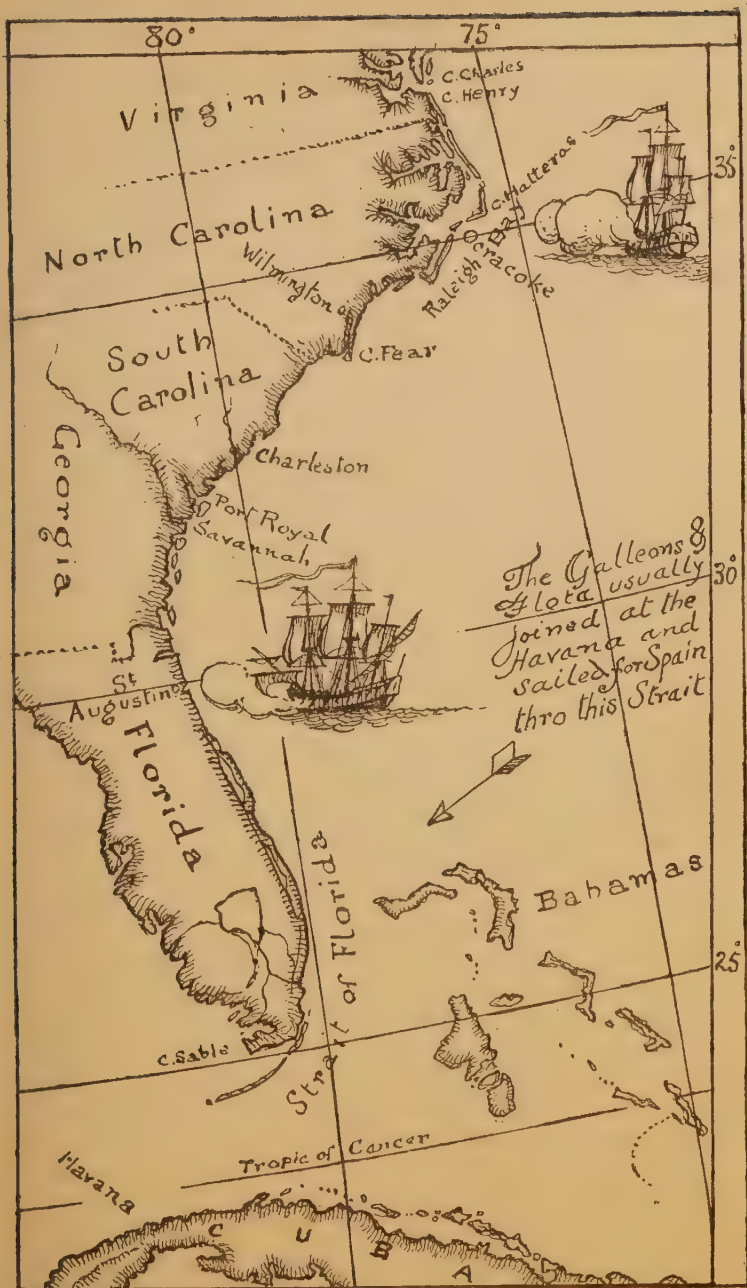
¹ P.R.O. High Court Admiralty. Declarations, 30. Bonds, 27. In these documents Walker is described as of the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, and the amount of the bond was £1,500.

² P.R.O. Treasury, 11/22.

³ Field, "Britain's Sea Soldiers," vol. i.

⁴ P.R.O. Adm. i, 5115.

⁵ McCrady, "South Carolina, 1719-1776," Chap. xi.



Map illustrating the cruise of the *William* off the coast of the Carolinas and Florida

(Drawn by Herbert S. Vaughan)

squadron dispersed, the *Flamborough* to New York, to refit until she sailed for England in May, 1741; the *Spence* and *Squirrel* to join Vernon in the West Indies; the *Phoenix* cruising and convoying in and out of Cooper river and Charleston; and the *Hector* on similar duty at Virginia.¹

It was a hardworked little squadron, frequently crippled by bad weather, and it is no wonder that enemy privateers attempted raids on the less frequented part of the coast. The spot they selected for a base was one which for over a century had been the resort of desperadoes and the scene of bloodthirsty outrages.

That curious chain of islands of which Okreoke (modern Ocracoke) forms part gave Raleigh's captains their first landfall in 1584. When the English, under the charter of Charles II, settled Carolina, the pirates of the Spanish Main had long occupied this coast, which was well adapted by its physical features to be a hiding-place and a base for refitting. A period of violent piracy led the colonists to take drastic action and by the beginning of the eighteenth century the worst of it had been suppressed. After 1711, when the colony became occupied with Indian wars, a further outbreak occurred and it is said that in 1717 there were 1,500 pirates in these seas, and that for five years they were "invincible masters of the Gulf of Florida and coasts, which they swept from Newfoundland to South America." Among them was the notorious Teach, or Thatch (commonly called Black Beard), who made his headquarters at Ocracoke, and here in 1718 he and his crew were destroyed by a force sent against him from Virginia. The events of 1718/19 and the arrival of a frigate on the station—for which the Colonists had long petitioned—ended the exploits of the pirates in this neighbourhood, and Ocracoke heard no more the "clash of arms" until Walker led his little expedition against the fortress of the Spanish privateers as related in the narrative.²

The Account of Charges for this affair shows that it cost the Province altogether £10,000, a considerable sum for those days. £5,441 of this was for "Hireing and fitting out with Victuals and Men the ship *William* of London, Captain George Walker, Commander from Cape Fear to Ocacock Inlet, for the relief of the inhabitants of these parts from some Spanish privateers that lay there taking all ships coming in and out of the said inlet, destroying cattle ashore and devastating the country." Walker's share for the charter-party was £2,680, and the hire of two sloops cost £68, but no other details are given except £27 for "Linen cut up for Bandages." Evidently it was a bloodthirsty little job!³

¹ Logs of the ships concerned: P.R.O., Adm. 51.

² Hopkins University Studies, "Carolina Pirates 1670-1740"; Hayward, "Johnson's History of the Pirates": various references.

³ "State Records of North Carolina," vol. xx, p. 400, etc.

Governor Johnston, who with the Assembly passed a vote of thanks to Walker on behalf of the Colony, was a Scotsman, educated at St. Andrews. He reigned from 1734 to 1752 and had a high reputation. "Unlike his immediate predecessors he was neither a profane man nor a drunkard, and is said to have done more to promote the prosperity of the colony than perhaps all the other colonial governors put together."¹ Walker refused the offer of land which was made to him and no doubt in the years of his misfortunes thought of it with regret. The records of the Assembly at that time are filled with the issue of patents for land on the basis of 50 acres for every white or black man, woman and child of which the grantees' family consisted. The boundaries between the two colonies had only recently been settled and land was being parcelled out with great rapidity. What the Governor of the former province said to the Governor of the latter on the subject—doubtless with the traditional accompaniments—is not recorded, but they were both anxious to attract such reliable settlers and potential fighting men as Walker and his people.

Reverting to the status of a trader, letter of marque, Walker visited Barbadoes for a cargo. We are not told of any difficulties with his crew, and if he had none he was lucky, for at that time desertion was rife, wages ashore were high and rum was to be had for next to nothing. On the coast of Carolina many of the English merchantmen paid 17 to 20 guineas for the run home and in addition as many pounds of sugar, gallons of rum, and pounds of tobacco as pounds in money.² Vernon lost 500 men at Jamaica,—seduced by high wages and rum.

They sailed from Barbadoes October 31, 1742, with a convoy. It has been remarked above that in times of naval deficiency the letter of marque commander often stepped into the breach, but it is not generally known that the distasteful duty of convoy was one of those tasks so performed. Thus, in July 1747, Richard Baker, Master of Lloyds, sends to Corbet a list of twenty-two ships "which had lost their convoy at Elsinore and are now safely arrived in Yarmouth Road under convoy of the *Neopolitan*, Capt. Hurst, a letter of marque ship." Several other ships bound to the Northern ports sailed under her convoy. Walker's little fleet was scattered by a hurricane while he himself was at death's door with dysentery, but he made a surprising recovery in the face of danger. The stratagem of the mizen mast was in his best manner and was happily successful, and so they reached Dover on New Year's Day, 1742/3, only to find that although fortunate in affairs of the sea, ill luck had attended him in matters of finance.

Soon after the loss of the *William* the former owners set forth a snow of 130 tons and 4 guns, called the *Russia Merchant*, and in command of her Walker made three trips up the Baltic within the year. It is very

¹ "State Records of North Carolina," vol. iv. ² P.R.O., Adm. i. 1479.

unlikely that any educated person who may have accompanied him in the later cruises should have also been with him in this little ship, which probably carried only a mate and a boatswain as officers. The relation of the Baltic experiences is suggestive of the theory that the "Voyages" may have been written by himself. Incidentally, the language is crisp and picturesque and such as Walker used in conversation. What prettier and simpler description could you have than this? "In the run home he met several small privateers, like birds, scudding about the seas; who all scoured from him at his appearance as one of greater prey."

War against France had been declared on March 29 (O.S.) and this gave our hero the opportunity of inventing one of his favourite plans of disguise. With wooden guns, and nettings on the quarters, he made his ship pass for a man-of-war, being, as he says, snow-rigged like a king's sloop.¹ Then, when the expected enemy chased him, he hoisted the naval ensign, jack, and pendant,—and so home.

The cruise of the *Mars* brought Walker into contact with a notorious incident in naval history which evoked a great deal of public feeling. The description of it from his side is adequate and even amusing, as when the Irish seaman loads his gun with a pocketful of shillings only to be accused by the excited Frenchmen after the action of firing broken glass at them! A glance at the naval side is necessary. The *Mars* privateer, (which the naval reports persistently miscall the *Dartmouth*, confusing her with her port), and the French 64-gun ship *Fleurion* (which Walker misnames *Florissant*) were engaged in a hopeless action which ended in the surrender of the smaller ship. The *Neptune* and *Fleurion* then proceeded with their prize, and two days afterwards four English ships of the line hove in sight—the *Captain*, *Hampton Court*, *Dreadnought*, and *Sunderland*.

The first named (Captain Griffin, Senior Officer) selected the *Mars*, the smallest of the three now under the French flag, took her, and disappears from the story. The *Sunderland* carried away her main topmast "with her steering sails all standing,"² which entailed a considerable mess and put her definitely out of the business. The *Hampton Court* (Captain Mostyn) leading the chase, with the *Dreadnought* (Captain Fowke) three miles astern, came up abreast of the enemy about a mile to windward (some witnesses said within musket shot) and the Frenchmen then hauled up their mainsails and hoisted their colours, expecting the English to bear down and attack. Mostyn also hauled up his mainsail, waited for the *Dreadnought*, and

¹ See footnote p. 20.

² An incorrect expression used by many of the old sea officers for *Studding Sails*. Falconer ("Marine Dictionary") calls it "a most contemptible conceit." Studding Sails were light sails like wings extended from the yard arms.

called a council of war ! On this the enemy "got on board their main tacks, hauled down their colours and made all the sail they could from us." The subsequent evidence¹ was chiefly concentrated on the point that while the enemy sailed upright the English ships "lay along"² so much that they might not have been able to fight their lower-deck guns. But, as a somewhat sarcastic critic (believed to be Admiral Vernon) inquired, in a contemporary pamphlet,—“As they were to windward and consequently could leave the enemy at pleasure, would it have been amiss to try a few shots ? ”³

As it turned out, two very fine and easy prizes were lost for want of a little of the traditional English daring, for, as Walker has told us, the French were incapacitated by sickness and were not prepared to put up any serious resistance. The officers concerned were acquitted, but the public had their own view of the matter, and when Captain Mostyn next went to sea he sailed out of port amid cries of “All’s well, there are no Frenchmen in the way.” A pitiful contrast to Walker’s own conduct when he fought the great *Glorioso* single-handed.

Walker’s cheery personality made a conquest of the captain of the *Fleurion*, but the pleasant relations existing between them were interrupted with tragic suddenness by the destruction of that ship at Brest, from which the Englishmen were saved by a miracle. Walker as usual, was “to leeward” financially ; his letter of credit being burnt, “he now wanted the means of his own and our maintenance,” but having already made some friends on shore he was able with the assistance of the official who had the arrangement of the cartel⁴ to get his own name with those of his officers and men included in the list for the vessel filling up for England. Meantime they did not lack for hospitality, and the owners of the *Mars*, Holdsworth and Terry of Dartmouth, as soon as they learnt of Walker’s predicament, by the arrival of the recaptured vessel at her port, behaved handsomely in taking immediate steps to forward ample credit for his relief. On inspecting the vessel provided by the British Government to carry the prisoners of war back to their grateful country it was found to be unseaworthy and quite incapable of holding the number contracted for. Whereupon a small yacht was purchased and, well stocked with wine and food by a kindly Frenchman, the ex-captain and people of the *Mars* “shoved off” and made their way to Guernsey, in February, 1745. Here they found upon the shore the main topmast of the *Victory*, flagship of the veteran Sir John Balchen, which had been lost upon the Casketts in the night of October 4, 1744, with all her officers and a

¹ “Minutes of the Court Martial,” 31.1.1744/5.

² I.e. they were heeled over to leeward by the pressure of the wind abeam in their sails.

³ “Enquiry into the conduct of Capt. M——n, remarks by a Sea officer,” 1745.

⁴ See footnote p. 33.

thousand men. Walker came safe to Dartmouth on March 2, and promptly set about his next adventure.

The same owners now offered him the command of the *Boscawen*, formerly the French *Médée*, the first prize taken (by Boscawen himself) after the declaration of war. Like most of the French frigates of the period she was a fine model and a very fast sailer. The letter of marque (March 15, 1744/5) shows her as of 600 tons, 26 guns and 300 men, but her commander unwisely increased this armament and complement with the result that her scantling afterwards proved insufficient for the added weight. However, after the amusing incidents recounted in Chapter I, Cruise 2, which illustrate the simple merry nature of the seamen of the time, the *Boscawen* finally sailed from Dartmouth, April 19, 1745,—“the most compleat privateer ever sent from England.”

A month afterwards, cruising well in the track of the homeward bound West India fleets, north-west of Finisterre, they fell in with the *Sheerness* privateer of London, Captain John Furnell,¹ 440 tons, 26 carriage and 12 swivel guns, 200 men, a useful craft with some reputation. At dawn the next morning the pair sighted a fleet of eight French letter of marque ships from Martinico, well laden and armed. Walker made straight for them, and the enemy, mounting in the aggregate 120 guns to the *Boscawen's* 30 (although it is true they were mostly of smaller calibre) formed line and waited for him. In the action that ensued the *Sheerness* bore no part until the end, being unable to keep up with the *Boscawen*, but her arrival completed the victory. This desperate and, so far as the French were concerned, bloody action—for they lost 113 men—resulted in five prizes for the English. That the loss of the latter was trivial is attributed by Walker to his invention of an elm board defence along the quarters in place of the usual nettings into which it was the practice to fit the hammocks when action commenced.² Hutchinson, at a later date, describes his plan for making a somewhat similar breastwork for the defence of the quarter deck musketeers. “In common the rail is no more than breast high so that the musketeers can fire fairly over it upon the enemy.”

After lying-to for forty-eight hours, to repair damages, they proceeded to Bristol with the prizes and prisoners. Walker entertained the latter handsomely, even to the extent of giving an old lady a silk nightgown, some fine linen waistcoats, cambric night-caps, etc., in which she appeared “a kind of Hermaphrodite.” Although the use of

¹ Not Parnell, as in the text.

² “Then ‘Down Chests and up Hammocks’ a clear Ship and all necessary preparations was made for an engagement . . . but, when the enemy disappeared, ‘Then, Gentlemen,’ says I, ‘Up Chests and Down Hammocks.’” (Matthew Bishop, “Life,” 1744.)

the old time trumpets had by now become obsolete in the royal navy,¹ the privateers still continued to provide music for the entertainment of their crews, and the advertisements for hands frequently added that "French Horns or even a Band of Musick would find great encouragement."² Mr. Walker, we find, had provided "two French Horns and other Musick of which he was very fond," and these were produced for the benefit of the old gentlewoman, who, "seeing them hang up in the steerage, insisted on their accompanying the dinner, as usual; and even joined the flutes with her voice in singing."

Two days after their arrival the privateers received the following letter from the Admiralty.

31st May, 1745.

My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty being informed that you and the *Boscawen* Privateer are arrived at Bristol with 5 sail of French ships you have taken which were bound from Martinico to France, Their Lordships are very glad to hear of your good success, and command me to congratulate you thereon and desire if you meet with any papers in those Prizes that give any light into the proceedings or designs of the French at Martinico that you will immediately send the same hither by express.

I am, etc.,

T. CORBET.

Capt. FURNELL, *Sheerness* Privateer, Bristol.

Capt. WALKER, *Boscawen*.

The privateersmen, elated with their good fortune after so short a cruise, "painted the town red" in the usual manner, and even Walker devoted both time and money to the entertainment of his French prisoners. In fact, the "facetious old lady" appears to have enjoyed herself immensely, in spite of her misfortunes, and took upon herself to instruct the local milliners and dressmakers in the "polite cuts" of the French fashions, a proceeding which must have caused an immense fluttering in the dove-cotes of Bristol and Bath, and was no doubt very good for trade.

Walker solicited the favour of travelling in the lady's coach as far as Bath,—with a view of showing her the town. No sooner had they set out upon the road than there fell in behind them as escort a cavalcade of "honest tars," who, having heard that their captain was going to Bath with the French lady, "were determined every one to shew it to their ladies also, as every one who had not a lady of his own, had bought or borrowed one for the time." To do the thing in style they had hired every kind of horse and vehicle in the town and bought up all the

¹ Perrin, "Bands in the R. Navy." "Mariners' Mirror," ix.

² Latimer, "Annals of Bristol, XVIIIth Cent."

coloured ribbons they could find, with which they decorated impartially their own hats, the rumps of their horses, and the bosoms of their ladies. "Never sure were horses, whores, and ribbands so dear in one day at Bristol." Moreover, each mariner flew an ensign, jack, and pendant aboard his own craft, and paid the compliments of the sea to the captain and the lady on taking up station. Needless to say this was all to the great pleasure and delight of the old lady, who was "very sedulous in returning the compliments of salutation as they huzzaed and passed," but it must be confessed the French Commodore was a bit touchy about it, until Walker smoothed him down. If there is a more rollicking tale than this in the annals of Jack ashore I do not know it; one would like to have had a contemporary picture of these merry doings!

The second cruise of the *Boscawen* commenced in dispiriting circumstances. An old ghost story, connected with the ship's history under the French flag, had somehow been revived,—whether through the malice of some discontented person, or how, it is impossible to say—and this reacted upon the spirits and endurance of the ship's company during the whole commission.

These forebodings were justified. After the capture of a French snow and the temporary detention of a neutral Walker was faced with a mutiny partly due to his action in releasing the latter. He treated the malcontents with forbearance, explaining the law on the subject, exhorting them to their duty, and arresting only four of the mutineers. This sufficed for the time being, but at Madeira he had further trouble on account of the misconduct of some of his men, who publicly insulted the congregation and their religion at a church in the town. Unhappily, this particular kind of hooliganism was only too common in the eighteenth century on the part of Englishmen abroad. A bad instance was that of Admiral Mathews, who decorated his monkey with a crucifix, as described in Mann's letter from Florence to Horace Walpole in September, 1742. Other cases occurred in Lisbon, in 1735/6. Walker's tact, and his gift of "blarney," enabled him to calm the local indignation.

The *Boscawen* sailed October 5, with the French prize, now the *George* tender. The latter deserted on the night of the 21st; her captain, Kennedy, first lieutenant of the *Boscawen*, went off with her to Ireland and there sold the greater part of her wines.¹ He returned with her afterwards to Dartmouth "with some vague excuses for his behaviour."

The *Boscawen*, left alone, came up with the *Duke of Bedford* privateer of Bristol, and was in her company in very hard gales when the

¹ The *George*, ex-*Catherina*, snow, was laden with wine and flour for Martinico.

first catastrophe occurred. The mainyard, with sixty men on it, fell on to the gunwale of the ship, the terrible concussion and the increasing gale causing her to labour hard and work. The story of a ship in such conditions has seldom been better told than in this book. Butts and planks started, partly owing to inferior construction and partly to her overweighted condition, and she was only preserved from foundering by Walker's indomitable spirit in keeping his officers and men at their task. There are few more moving passages in the book than that in which we are told how his drum beat to arms and he called upon his officers to face the enemy—their own fears.

Finally, leaking like a sieve, she drove into St. Ives Bay, with her anchors gone and no hope except to get within shelter of the pier. The ground swell is severely felt on this part of the coast and westerly winds throw in a heavy sea; the little harbour is tucked away well within the headland with its main arm running towards the south. To round up the water-logged hulk, as she came in past the headland from the west, and tow her up to windward would have been no easy work even for powerful modern tugs, in the lee-going sea that was running. It speaks well for the pluck of the longshoremen that it was even attempted. The task was hopeless, and the *Boscarwen* went ashore and broke up, with the loss of only four hands.

"Thus fell a wreck the finest privateer in Europe," but not without honour to all concerned. Their reception from the Cornish people was all that could be desired,—except for a quickly frustrated attempt at wrecking on the part of a body of miners for whom the narrator apologises as "living almost out of the districts of human society." Walker's reputation was enhanced as much by his fortitude and determination in this disaster as by his previous successes against the enemy, and his owners not only received him with every mark of esteem but offered to build especially for him a forty-gun ship, to be fitted out according to his requirements. Unhappily, as it turned out for the security of his own fortunes, private reasons which are not disclosed induced him to sever his relations with Holdsworth and Terry and proceed to London, where he ultimately entered into an agreement with a syndicate which proved to be less considerate and scrupulous.

We now come to the story of the *Royal Family* privateers with which Walker's name is particularly associated as Commodore during those successful cruises that created at the time a great sensation in this country. Among the owners, whose names are given in the narrative, was one Casamajor, who had been associated with the Dartmouth firm and was probably not altogether unconnected with the transfer of Walker's services to the London syndicate. He was a merchant of Bristol and, the squadron being recruited largely from that port was appointed by the officers and men to be their general agent for the

distribution of the prize money. Of the other "owners and setters forth" William Belchier and Israel Jalabert both figured in the subsequent financial troubles; the former was M.P. for Southwark and a Common Councilman of the City of London. The most important member, in social and financial standing, was Edward Ironside, the banker, with whom Belchier was in partnership at the sign of the Black Lion in Lombard Street. He was in turn Alderman and Sheriff and died as Lord Mayor of London, in 1753, being the last of five mayors who died in office within thirteen years. He was Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths Company, 1746-7 and is one of the six aldermen, "Tories and reputed Jacobites," who appear in the picture called "Ben's Club" by Hudson, in the ballroom of the Company.¹ He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and his eldest son inherited his tastes, for he attained some fame as a topographer and wrote "The History and Antiquities of Twickenham," at which place he died in 1803.²

The most interesting member of the firm, however, was Captain James Talbot, to whose exploits as a privateer it is necessary to refer, because they led up to, and have sometimes been confused with, Walker's own operations with the *Royal Family*; they are also in themselves among the most remarkable sea adventures of the time. Talbot's little fleet consisted of the *Prince Frederick*, 500 tons, 30 guns and 250 men, commanded by himself; the *Duke*, Captain Morecock, 300 tons, 20 guns, 150 men,³ and a smaller vessel, the *Prince George*, commanded by Talbot's nephew, which capsized and sank with all but twenty hands, a few days after leaving Cowes. The *Prince Frederick* and *Duke*, after Talbot's cruise, formed the nucleus of the *Royal Family* which the syndicate then entrusted to the command of Walker.

Talbot's ships were owned and fitted out at London; the crews, however, were not London men. Protections were issued to bring 130 men from Ireland and 60 from Bristol for the *Prince Frederick* while 70 men were protected from Dartmouth and 60 from Bristol for the *Duke*.⁴ They left Cowes on June 2, 1745, and on July 10, cruising between the Azores and the Banks of Newfoundland, they saw three sail bearing west, the wind at S.S.E., and smooth water. The action that ensued has been described by Talbot and by one of his lieutenants in letters written from Kinsale.⁵ The *Prince Frederick* fired a gun at them "when up went their white rag and they formed a line." The white rag was not, it is necessary to note, the flag of surrender, but the old Bourbon ensign of plain white, which was not succeeded by the republican tricolour until 1790. A sanguinary fight followed, and

¹ Beaven, "Aldermen of the City of London."

² D.N.B.

³ The figures are from the Letter of Marque Bonds.

⁴ P.R.O. Ad. 7.368.

⁵ "Gents. Mag.," 1745, p. 418.

"in that manner we entertained each other three hours at warm work." Two of the three were captured, the *Lewis Erasmus* and the *Marquis d'Antin*. "I tore the ships so with my twelve pounders," says Talbot, "above and below, that the next day the weather coming on bad were obliged to throw the prize's guns overboard to keep her above water; they lost all their masts and we have been obliged to tow them ever since; thanks be to the Almighty we arrived here yesterday (July 30) at five in the afternoon." The towage of the dismasted hulks took three weeks across the Atlantic—a stupendous task under sail.

The subsequent history of the third ship, the *Nostre Dame de Libération*, is interesting. She escaped from the conflict and made for Louisberg, Cape Breton, her commander believing that place to be still in possession of the French. In this mistake he was confirmed by the sight of the French flag flying over the port until two British men-of-war, the *Sunderland*, 60, and *Chester*, 50, swooped out and captured him, and he discovered that the display of those colours was a decoy on the part of the new British masters of the colony.¹ The cargo of the prize, which this time fell to the navy, was worth £600,000. Its various items are suggestive; visions of galleons and conquistadores, pirates and buccaneers, priests and fair Spanish ladies arise as one reads the list. There are things one would like to know about Spanish American trade at this time; why, for instance, did the ladies of Seville and Cadiz import fans from Peru or Chile? The cargo included the following: 18 Serons² of gold, 1,170 pounds weight; 15,399 double doubloons³; 15 gold snuff-boxes (918 ounces of pure gold; a gold-hilted sword; 36 pistoles⁴; Pieces-of-Eight⁵ to the amount of £214,000; 764 ounces of virgin silver; 31 pounds of silver ore; 2 large silver flagons; 9 silver snuff-boxes; 6 pairs of diamond earrings; 877 serons and 316 bags of cocoa; 203 serons of Jesuits' Bark; 191 tanned hides; 181 dozen of fans; 36 bales of Spanish or Carmenian wool, etc.⁶

The lieutenant of the *Prince Frederick* gives a picturesque account

¹ Louisbourg, the "Dunkirk of North America," was taken after siege by the British in June, 1745. The operations under Commodore Warren, himself a landowner in New York and husband of a Boston lady, aroused much interest and anxiety both in America and England. "Our new acquisition of Cape Breton is become the darling object of the whole nation; it is ten times more so than ever Gibraltar was." (Trevor MSS.) Cape Breton was restored to France in 1748 by the unsatisfactory treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

² Seron (*Fr.*) a hamper, bale, or package of exotic products such as almonds, medicinal bark, cocoa, etc., made up in an animal's hide.

³ The double-doubloon was current at this period for about £3 12s.

⁴ Worth from eighteen to twenty shillings.

⁵ The piece of eight was worth 8 silver reals of the value of sixpence: it was therefore roughly equal to the American dollar.

⁶ Beatson, "Naval and Military Memoirs," vol. i.

of what occurred after the fight. "The 12th of July (which is now the toast here) we took two rich ships; they went out four years ago to Peru and had on board by their bills of lading one million sterling in gold and silver coin, besides 800 tons of cocoa, and we are every day discovering more treasure that has been concealed. There were a vast number of persons of great distinction of France, Spain, Peru, etc. We have a marquis of France, a governor of Peru, friars in abundance, one of whom threw a gold chalice into the sea of great value, that it should not come into our hands. We treated our prisoners in such a manner as none were ever treated before. We took not the value of a penny, neither money, watches, rings or swords from any of those gentlemen. We took all the cash and plate the common people had, and at sending them on shore here we gave every common man 20 guineas. They say here they were as friends, not as common enemies. We sent an express to London and shall wait here for a convoy. We are now overhawling our prizes and moving the cocoa into other ships, and we are every now and then finding wedges of gold; besides this day the Spanish gentlemen (finding we would not ransom the ships as they wanted) have discovered a vast treasure hid in the sides of the ships for which we are to give them a large premium. I compute my share will come to about £3,500."

Prodigious excitement was created in Bristol by the arrival of the two privateers and their prizes, escorted by three ships of war, on September 8. The treasure, consisting of 1,093 chests of silver bullion, besides gold and silver plate and other valuables was transported to London in a convoy of forty-five wagons ornamented with streamers, each guarded by armed sailors on horseback, attended by music, and was carried to the Tower.¹ "Its arrival in the capital and removal to the Mint caused a great sensation and kindled a fresh passion for privateering. The shipowners, raised to opulence by this lucky venture, begrudged the crews their share of the booty. Most of the men were kidnapped and sent to unhealthy countries or on board men-of-war and their families, though entitled to large sums, were reduced to pauperism. A portion of the money was paid into the Court of Chancery, where it probably now forms part of the unclaimed funds."² No doubt there was some injustice and discontent, but it is difficult to believe that the owners could have gone into the market at Bristol to get crews for the *Royal Family* in 1746 if they had grossly ill-treated those of the *Prince Frederick* and *Duke* a few months previously. Beatson says "upon a division each common seaman received the sum of £850 as his share and the officers in proportion."³ The

¹ "Gents. Mag.," 1745, p. 428; and Beatson, "Naval and Military Memoirs," vol. i.

² Latimer, "Annals of Bristol."

³ "Naval and Military Memoirs," vol. i.

owners lent £700,000 of their newly acquired wealth to the Government, in aid of the force then being raised against Prince Charles Stuart.

The capture of the *Marquis d'Antin* was the subject of an appeal case heard in 1748. It is quoted in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society" and is referred to as that of a ship "loaded in the name of *Spanish* agents by *English* merchants and sent on a smuggling voyage to the *Spanish* West Indies, on her return trip captured under *French* colours by two *English* privateers and condemned in the lower court as a *Spanish* vessel," a title which in itself indicates the complicated nature of trade relations on the Western Ocean in those days. "In the legal arguments and statements of the 'Appeals from the American Plantation in the cause of Prize' there is a great mass of American naval and commercial history. Trade restriction and Admiralty Courts on the one side and illicit trading and nullification of English trade laws on the other were an important element in the origin of the Revolutionary War."¹

Captain Talbot, a wise man, now decided to forsake the sea, and joined the board of owners, and in the following spring they sent forth the famous *Royal Family*—*King George*, *Prince Frederick*, *Duke* and *Princess Amelia*—under the command of Commodore Walker.

The expedition opened in a way that augured none too well for its success. The "old Boscawens" rolled up with hundreds of other prime seamen to join Walker's flag at Bristol, but the conduct of the management in regard to the new terms and articles was anything but straightforward, and it inspired both officers and men with distrust. "On the third Wednesday in March, 1746, the sailors of the *Royal Family* privateers struck on account of wages, the ships being bound on an eight months' cruise. The men said that their agreement was for fifteen guineas per man, but the merchants had reduced the advance money to five guineas. To the number of 2,000 they met on Brandon Hill and passed a resolution that whoever took less than fifteen guineas should be hanged upon a gallows; they then patrolled the city, but beyond breaking a few windows did no more mischief and at night retired to their quarters. Meanwhile 400 seamen, liberated on cartel, arrived from France; these shipped immediately, and the privateers fell down to Kingroad on April 5th, to the chagrin of the combination."²

No sooner had they cleared from Kingroad than a careless pilot put the *Prince Frederick* ashore on the Welsh Hook, the western part of a long bank called the Welsh Grounds, off the mouth of the Usk. The strong ebb carried the rest of the fleet down to Flatholm, an island in

¹ *Op. cit.*, second series, vol. v.

² Nichols, "Bristol Past and Present," vol. iii, p. 306.

the fairway of the Bristol Channel about 17 miles from Avon River, under which they anchored to await developments. It being found necessary to dock the stranded ship they proceeded without her on May 23.

On the 11th at daybreak they saw a large fleet, which Walker approached, being to windward of them, in the hope of snapping up prizes from a French convoy, the escorting men of war being well to leeward. It turned out to be our own "trade" for American waters under convoy of the *Milford*, 5th Rate, 50 guns, and the *Rye*, a new 6th Rate, 24. Walker went on board the *Rye* to report to her captain, and here the story describes one of the difficulties in the convoy work of sailing days,—the straggling of the flock in spite of the efforts and noise of the sheep dogs. Convoys were frequently of enormous size and the fast sailers were handicapped by the slow. Another difficulty existed for the owners, in the probability of the market being swamped and prices reduced by the simultaneous arrival at a given port of a crowd of merchant ships bearing similar freights. In July, 1747, the Secretary of the Admiralty writes strongly to the Master of Lloyds on this subject. Richard Baker, in his reply, says, "I duly received your favour of yesterday and shall shew it to the Merchants, who I think should reprimand their Masters for their folly in forsaking the Convoy without any necessity for so doing 'tis a Behaviour that is too general among the Masters who frequently run from their Convoy to gett to a Markett, if they come safe Home 'tis well, if not the Underwriter must pay for their Indiscreet Conduct."¹ The straggler, of course, was an easy prey to the privateer of an enemy nation, and the officers of the navy greatly disliked what was, too often, a worrying and thankless task.

Walker's first prize was the armed polacre *Postillion de Nantes*, 90 tons, which he took out of Safi Bay near Cape Cantin, the southern limit of their assigned cruising station.² The reference to combustible stink-pots in the account of this sharp little affair may remind us that gas bombs are not altogether a new invention. The prize's cargo (beeswax and other goods) was sold for £1,743, and the vessel herself was converted into a tender under the name of *Prince George*, for the remainder of the cruise. They were now ordered to cruise between the Azores and the Banks of Newfoundland, and on July 5 they fell in with the *Prince Frederick* which had been left to dock at Bristol in May.

There follows an interesting account of Terceira and of some festivities in which the officers and gentlemen of the four ships took part; the Commodore's band of music entertaining the company and reflecting much credit on the visitors. The horns and flutes which had

¹ P.R.O., Adm. i. 3935.

² About 150 miles S.W. of what is now the well-known French town of Casa Blanca, on the coast of Morocco, and due east of Madeira.

delighted the old French lady in the *Boscawen* were now supplemented not only by a black drummer but by "an hand from England of great execution on the large or Welsh harp (an instrument not much in use but excelled by none) and a performer on the violin who was reckoned the second in England." There were also "two of our young gentlemen volunteers, so remarkably great on the violin that if they had disliked the profession they had certainly made it their study." To those who have generally represented the privateersman as a degraded and unprincipled ruffian, with ideas limited to slaughter and robbery, the recital of these amenities at Terceira may be not without interest. Five weeks later, the tender having been sent away to Lisbon, partially disabled by an accident, they put into Flores for water. Here, in return for assistance received, Walker gave a dinner party to some Portuguese gentlemen in a romantic situation,—“the music accompanying, especially the horns, which were placed in such a chosen spot as to be caught in sound by various echoes, one after another, that died away along the windings of the coast.”

On the 2nd October,¹ after a chase, they spoke two East Indiamen the *Royal George* and *Scarborough*, which for their voyage home had painted themselves like French ships to escape attack.² They had left England in April, 1745, and had made the Madras-Bengal voyage. Homeward-bound they called at St. Helena, the Company's depôt, whence they pursued the north-westerly course, putting their ships into “y^e Best posture of Defence” on the way, and “exercising our People, who does it in good order and is full of spirits.” Approaching the Azores they worked to the N.E., until they reached a point in Lat. 37 N. 55 leagues E. of St. Mary's, “having complied with Their Honours orders in that respect.” (Strict injunctions as to routes, rendezvous, etc., were always given by the Directors of the Hon. Company to their commanders.) Here they were sighted and chased by the *Royal Family*.

Walker's ships were foul, having been long off the ground, and the East Indiamen, who hoisted Danish colours, would have escaped from

¹ The narrative is incorrect as to the date. The logs of both Indiamen prove that the chase commenced on 29/30 September, not August. (“Marine Records, E.I. Co.,” India Office.)

² It is probable that until the war of American Independence the sides of English and French ships were virtually the same, i.e. black bends, single yellow or bright side above up to the sheer rail, above which came the frieze. This in English ships was normally plain black, but in the French it was usually blue, powdered with fleurs de lis. The two Indiamen were probably disguised by painting the frieze, which was broad on the quarters, and by decoration of the quarter gallery. I am much indebted for his opinion in this matter to Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, the author of “Old Ship Figureheads and Stern Galleries.” The logs show that at St. Helena they blacked yards and mastsheads, scraped the sides and payed them with rosin and blacked the wales; the gunner was employed for ten days painting the quarters, no doubt with blue and fleurs de lis.

the supposed enemy had it not been for the bad sailing of the *Scarborough*. The log of the latter reports that "the privateers had had a long unsuccessful cruise and were very short of water and provisions. Captain Walker promised to keep us company and gave it under his hand to see us in safety according to our orders from the Secret Committee of the Hon. Company. We lay by all day to supply them with Water and Provisions" (this included two puncheons of beef and two of pork, four needles and six "skanes of thread".) "On Oct. 4th Capt. Field and I dined on board the *King George* with Capt. Walker, and on Oct. 7th at noon entertained the Commodore and other commanders of the privateers." With these diversions they passed a few days, and then made sail for Lisbon.

The Philip D'Auvergne of the narrative must not be confused with his romantic namesake, who became Duke of Bouillon, although he was a member of the same ancient Jersey family. He had joined the *Scarborough* as chief mate in 1744; on the return voyage, both ships being very sickly, Captain Westcott died of gout and scurvy as they sighted the Cape, and D'Auvergne succeeded him as commander. The log shows many pathetic entries of a kind only too common at the time, e.g.—"June 27. Our people tumble down very fast having now 5 or 6 falling down every day and those that keep the deck are hardly able to do ye duty."

On October 17, 1746, Walker arrived at Lisbon with his convoy and began preparations for the remaining half of the cruise. Trouble awaited him in the bad quality of their sea provisions, which, it is hinted, was due to some rascality on the part of the management at home, but his care for the frequent cleansing of the internal parts of the ships with vinegar and the supply of green vegetables and fresh meat as often as possible resulted in the preservation of the health of his men.

The original *Princess Amelia*, 250 tons, 26 guns, had arrived at the port only to be condemned as unseaworthy and replaced by a new purchase. The records of the High Court of Admiralty describe her successor as 280 tons, 22 carriage and 8 swivel guns, and 100 men. Robert Denham was commander in each case. The ex-French prize tender *Prince George*, and a sloop now purchased for a dispatch boat, and named *Prince Edward*, brought the *Royal Family* up to six in number. Walker's intelligence department was well served and the results of the cruise were satisfactory, the chief prize being the Spanish register ship *Nostra Señora del Buen Consejo*, Cadiz to Buenos Ayres, 24 guns and 150 men, with a cargo worth £150,000. She had on board three governors with their ladies and families, and other passengers who had private adventures to the amount of £27,000.¹ The

¹ Beatson, "Naval and Military Memoirs," vol. i.

Commodore behaved in his usual handsome manner towards the prisoners, thus, as in the *Boscawen*, establishing friendly and amusing relations from which we gain the story of the lap-dog and the monkey, the lady and the lover.

Returning with the prize into Lisbon, Commodore Walker, who had intelligence that two more rich Spanish ships were about to sail from Cadiz, contrived to spread the impression down the coast that his fleet was laying up for a refit. The fate of the two Spaniards, who promptly put to sea, was pathetic. One was snapped up by the *Jersey*, 60, Captain Charles Hardy, and the other, a very large Register ship of 36 guns, *La Nymphe*, was captured by Walker, who had left Lisbon on February 3, 1746/7, and discovered her on the 9th. Her cargo was very rich and included 115 tons of quicksilver. She was sent into Lisbon and afterwards sailed for England under escort, previous to which insurances on the ship and cargo were effected by the managers for £155,800. Her tragic fate is depicted in a vivid manner in the following "News from Sussex," Tuesday, December 1, 1747. "Happened a violent storm . . . 9 English ships were lost and many forced on shore, among them the *Nymphe*, a very rich prize taken by the *Royal Family* Privateers, at Beachy Head, but the gold on board her with other valuable effects were saved. Multitudes having flocked hither for plunder, several perished with the cold on the shore, and on their way homeward many more were taken up as dead but recovered by warm beds; a woman was found dead with two children crying by her. But the plundering was soon stopped; Mr. Belchier, M.P. for Southwark, part owner, on the first news of this shipwreck, going down with a warrant from the Secretary for War, for all soldiers on the coast to assist him, he met twelve smugglers with their loading which they abandoned at sight of the soldiers, but next day returned in great numbers to take it on which the soldiers firing, killed two and dispersed the rest."¹

The *Nymphe* was the last prize captured by the *Royal Family* in their first cruise, which resulted in "taking four prizes, then valued at a reasonable estimation, greatly upwards of £220,000, without the loss of a man killed." The conscientious Commodore, notwithstanding the success attained, insisted on keeping his ships at sea until the precise period of eight months' cruising stipulated by his owners had been accomplished. This produced something like a mutiny among some of the officers and men, who were longing to get ashore and spend their prize money on the pleasures of Lisbon, then one of the most popular and healthy resorts of the English fleet. The description in the narrative of the way in which this affair was handled is instructive. Behind the "general plan," as Falconer calls it, and the forms of navy

¹ "Gents. Mag.," 1747.

discipline, there lay little of that drastic power to enforce authority which was the backbone of the royal service, and it is evident the privateersman had to be studied—as a sharer in the enterprise and not a slave—and treated with a good deal of leniency. After attaining his end by a display of firmness Walker went into Lisbon on the 25th March, 1747.

The news of the first successes of the *Royal Family* created a sensation in London and Bristol, and preparations were now begun for the second cruise, which led to the zenith of Walker's career and included his famous fight with the *Glorioso*. New letters of marque, dated 6th May, 1747, were issued from England for the four principal ships, and fresh articles of agreement were entered into at Lisbon, where large numbers of British seamen were always available. Two-thirds of the old complements engaged for the next cruise, part of whom were put upon wages and employed in refitting the ships. Captain Bromedge of the *Prince Frederick*, and some others went home, being satisfied with their gains. A few, after selling their shares of the prizes—no doubt their tickets were discounted by the crimps—went off to join the Spaniards, whose agents, it is interesting to note, were employed at Lisbon to entice British seamen just as, at a later period, the Americans attracted into their service hundreds of prime seamen who deserted from the royal navy. The allowance, or advance, against their share of prize money made by the managers to the re-enlisted men, was only 10 moidores each, which Walker supplemented at his own risk, a generous act which subsequently turned out to his disadvantage.

From the story of the three months spent at Lisbon we get glimpses of the life of the privateersman in a foreign port. The enlisted men "drest in a uniform cockade to distinguish themselves," as the "Boscawens" did when they escorted Walker to Bath. The provisions sent out from England for the new cruise were "dearer and worse than what we bought at Lisbon." Not only was the climate genial and the soil fertile, but abundance of good living was to be had, green vegetables in plenty, fruit, fresh meat (the cattle were big, fat and famous, and are so still), and, of course, country wines of the purest quality. Lisbon was "in great repute as a health resort for its equable temperature and the restorative quality of its air. Patients, especially consumptives, were sent there from all parts of Europe. The markets were well supplied and wines to be had in all variety, nor was there any lack of amusements, balls and parties in abundance. A great character for hospitality had been gained by the English Colony and Factory who lived a pleasant sociable life in their country houses among the orange gardens of Cintra, the little village on the opposite side of the Tagus, an enchanted spot."¹ A few years later came the earthquake!

¹ Matcham, "A Forgotten John Russell," p. 276.

Among the incidents described as occurring at this time was the loss of the *King George*, English packet, which struck upon the bar. It is an odd coincidence that both this vessel and the *Prince Frederick* packet, should have been in Lisbon at the same time as their namesakes of the *Royal Family*.¹ The narrative alludes to a repetition of conduct similar to that at Madeira in the mockery of an alien religion. Unpleasant as such incidents are to read about it is necessary to recognise them as illustrating a definite phase of British mentality in the eighteenth century, and, alas, even later. It is in the same light we must regard the unctuous self-satisfaction of the conclusion of the chapter, manifesting a spirit that has not added to our popularity on the continent of Europe.

More agreeable is the picture of the seamen going "in a body, to the number of upwards of eight hundred, drest neatly in new cockades, with musick playing before them to the palace gates, to thank the king for his royal interposition in their favour," while the Duke of Hamilton's visit to the ships provides an interesting description of manning ship by a "fancy" method in which Walker improved upon the ordinary naval evolution.

The little fleet of six ships, mounting 114 carriage guns and manned by 1,000 men, set forth upon its last cruise on July 10, 1747. Its numbers were soon reduced by the loss of the locally purchased sloop-tender, owing to the insecure stepping of her mast, the heel of which went through her bottom, causing her to founder. In the next few pages of the story the keen sensibility to the beauties of nature and the picturesque language of the narrator are again displayed. The becalmed sea, the colours of the fish, and the thunderstorm at night are all visualised with the perception of an artist.

The first prize taken was a Spanish tartan² laden with money and cocoa from the West Indies transhipped at the Canaries: she was sent away to Faro (The Master of Lloyds reports her capture to the Secretary of the Admiralty on October 14). Two settees from Barcelona to Lisbon, with raisins and silk goods, were cut out of Lagos Bay, after

¹ Log of *Scarborough*. E. Ind. Mar Records.

² The tartan (Ital. *tartana*) was a lateen-rigged vessel of 50-100 tons, with one mast and a bowsprit, a rising pointed stern, and a slight beak-head. The heavy lateen yard is now being generally replaced by a long gaff with a boomless mainsail. At the present day they hail mainly from St. Tropez (whence they carry wine) and from a few Italian ports. Their trade is confined to coastal transport of local produce, and it is interesting to find that in Walker's time a tartan could make the voyage to the Canaries and carry not only a rich cargo but so important a passenger as a viceroy. Seaborne coastal traffic in the northern Mediterranean is now rapidly being killed by land motor transport, and it is probable that before long the tartan will be the last surviving type of sailing trader in these waters as the Thames barge bids fair to be in the Channel and the River.

some very sharp fighting, and then Walker met with something more worthy of his metal.

The account given in the narrative of the heroic struggle with the *Glorioso* will bear the addition of some explanatory remarks. The Spaniards frequently brought money and bullion from the Western Indies to Europe by heavily armed men-of-war as well as by freight in the ordinary treasure ships. The *Glorioso*, a 74-gun ship¹ with a crew of 700, was on her way from the Havannah to Ferrol with treasure said to be worth three millions sterling on board. As if to make Walker's daring all the more conspicuous, she had already twice encountered on her voyage groups of ships of the British navy and on both occasions had defeated them.

In the first case she was attacked on July 14 when off the Azores by the *Warwick*, 60, Captain Erskine, and the *Lark*, 40, Captain Crookshanks, having under their convoy the trade bound for North America. Erskine, who, although the junior officer, was in the larger ship, fought the *Glorioso* for four hours until he was beaten and disabled and the Spaniard made sail for Ferrol. The senior officer, having fired one broadside, "fled from the enemy till he was sure of being out of reach of her guns, where he lay unactive *to windward* and in full sight of the *Warwick* without yielding her the least assistance."² For this conduct he was cashiered by court martial held at Jamaica in February 1747/8. The evidence of the master of the *Warwick* contains a curious statement to the effect that Captain Crookshanks "came on board that ship the second day after the engagement, and very passionately shewed his resentment at the hissing from our ship's company as he came alongside in his boat, and said that if he had not done his duty it was not ours to call him to account: he then publicly asked the officers' opinions as to his conduct, which was very surprising to us all for he must be sensible that his behaviour and backwardness were the occasion of the enemy's escape by not supporting the *Warwick*."

The *Glorioso*'s second encounter with British ships was on August 4, and only ten leagues off Finisterre. Here she was chased by Captain Smith Callis in the *Oxford*, 50, with the *Shoreham* frigate and the *Falcon* sloop. After the exchange of two broadsides and "finding the ship full of water between decks that she would not bear her lower deck ports open and having received some shott between wind and water" Smith Callis thought it "not prudent to contend with her any longer, she being so much superior to us in force." In this he was

¹ Incorrectly described in some accounts as a 70-gun ship. "She was a fine powerful ship though as was general in that service she carried no heavier gun than 24 pounds." (Laird Clowes, "Royal Navy," vol. iii, p. 285). Captain Smith Callis, of the *Oxford*, who received two broadsides from her, says he found her shot to be 28 and 16 pounds. (Log of *Oxford*. P.R.O., Adm. 51.)

² P.R.O., Adm. 1/5291.

fully justified by the subsequent court martial, and the hero of the gallant action at St. Tropez, in 1742, could hardly be accused of reluctance to engage the enemy.¹

The sorely tried *Glorioso* now approached the fate which, one cannot help feeling, she deserved to escape. The *Royal Family* standing out of Lagos Bay, October 6, 1747, after watering, discovered her plying to the northward towards Cape St. Vincent on a N.E. wind. Here the "Cape of Surprises"—the cape of many battles—was to witness yet another scene of carnage and destruction. Why the *Glorioso*, from Ferrol to Cadiz, with almost a free wind for that passage, was standing to the northward does not seem clear, but the airs were fitful and it is probable that she had got too far to the westward and finding calms outside was beating up for the shore in order to pick up the stronger breeze off the land.

Seeing her enemies the *Glorioso* bore away again to the westward and after a chase of five hours the *King George* came up with her, when all of a sudden it fell a dead calm in which they lay within gun shot of each other. The chase ran out her lower tier of guns and hoisted her colours, but as there was no air to blow the latter out the privateers could not distinguish whether they were Spanish or Portuguese. The point of this is that the flags of both nations at this time displayed a shield surmounted by a crown upon a white field, so that if they were "up and down," to use the sea term, it would be impossible to see the emblems, or the chain of the golden fleece which surrounded the Spanish design (see Frontispiece).

The action began at eight o'clock "on a clear moon-shine evening" and lasted more than three hours yard-arm to yard-arm, during which "the castle upon Cape St. Vincent fired very briskly as a neutral power commanding peace; and we, being the nearest to it, received many of its shots." Thus belaboured by her huge antagonist and the neutral fortress the little *King George* carried on the fight alone for 2½ hours, when the *Prince Frederick* came up and the *Glorioso* concluded it was time to go. Walker was in no condition to follow her, but as his other ships, delayed by lack of wind, arrived, he sent them in pursuit.

And then, so that the leviathan, for all her gallant defence, should have no chance at all, Fate decreed that two of his majesty's ships should turn up from opposite directions, sailing to the sound of the guns,—the *Russell*, 80, and the *Dartmouth*, 50. As, in the course of this history, it has been necessary to mention occasions on which the conduct of the king's ships showed to disadvantage, it is pleasant to chronicle instances to the contrary. The *Dartmouth* approaching from the westward, headed off the big Spaniard and engaged him single-handed for an hour and a half, while the *Russell* and the privateers from

¹ P.R.O., Adm. (Log of *Oxford*.)

the eastward were coming up, when, unhappily, she blew up owing to some carelessness or accident in her magazines. The log of the *Russell*¹ records that they came up with the chase at 1 a.m. when "the action began as warmly on both sides as we were able to load and fire and so continued till 6.30 in the morning when a lucky shot from us carried away his main topmast, upon which he directly struck. From first to last we were within musquet shot of each other, we sailed large² all the time the action continued. Hailed him to hoist out his boat, but he replied he could not as all his rigging was cut to pieces (as was ours), so that we had to wait till one of the privateer's boats came on board,³ when we sent for the captain who gave us an account that our Prize was the *Glorioso*, a ship of 70 guns and 760 men. She had at this time 29 officers, besides warrants on board. We had, in killed, 11 men among whom was the 4th lieutenant and the boatswain, and wounded 10. When we began the action we had but 400 men on board, of which 20 were not able to come to their quarters."⁴

So ended the prolonged and desperate struggle of the *Glorioso* against her many enemies. "Never," as Walker says, "did Spaniards, nor indeed men, fight a ship better than they did this." Her story, and that of her gallant commander—who lost a beloved son in the engagement—should be one of the epics of Spanish literature.

Crawling alone, and in a crippled state, towards Lisbon, the *King George* met a ship which they judged to be a French man-of-war of 60 guns, and the indomitable Walker at once set about preparations for fighting her. Luckily, she proved to be the *Bedford*, 70, Admiral Townshend, and so Walker had fought his last battle. The *Royal Family*, the *Russell*, and the prize were shortly afterwards re-united at Lisbon. The *Glorioso*, although her treasure had been landed at the Groyne, proved to be in herself "so fine and complete a ship that the King of Portugal offered 30,000 moidores for her," but according to another account she was sold for £12,000, only one-third of which belonged to the privateers.

The *King George* remained in Lisbon to refit, having "vast numbers of shot lodged in her hull below water," but Walker sent away the rest of his fleet to continue the cruise. In this period they took their last prize, the *Agatha*, a Dutch ship under Spanish colours from Vera Cruz. She had on board 17 chests of silver money registered on the

¹ P.R.O., Adm. 51, 816.

² I.e., with the wind free, on the beam or quarter, but not right aft. In this case the ship was steering west and the wind was about N.E.

³ The point of this is that the boat was stowed on the booms in the waist, from which it could only be hoisted out by tackles rigged between the fore and main yards. The spars and rigging being disabled this was now impossible.

⁴ In his official letter to the Admiralty Captain Buckle complains that Mr. Byng, the Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, had stripped him to that number when he left the station. (P.R.O., Capt.'s Letters.)

Spanish account (of which one was lost overboard), one chest of wrought plate, 11 bales of cochineal, 211 doubloons, 4 bales of indigo, etc. The 16 chests of silver which came to the agents' hands fetched £16,226. This formed one of the American prize appeal court cases referred to above. It was heard in 1749, and is briefed as *Arent Tuyn, pretended master of the ship Agatha, appellant, v. Geo. Walker, Comdr. of the private ship of war King George, and others*. "A Dutch ship, chartered by a Spanish firm and loaded with Spanish goods which she had landed at Vera Cruz and Havana. On the homeward voyage she was seized by English Privateers: the court finding she sailed under a Spanish register condemned her."¹

The *Prince Frederick* and her consorts returned to Lisbon at the end of November, 1747, and on the 1st January, 1747/8, the Commodore, in the *Prince George*, led his squadron out again for the last four months of their cruise, hoping to capture at least a part of the rich Havannah fleet which was expected to arrive at Cadiz about this time. His failure to do so was attributable to the arbitrary action of the managers in sending his provisions round to Faro and forcing him to go there to pick them up. After unavoidable delays, he sailed from Faro only to find that the fleet from the Indies had got safely into port. There was little else now to be expected in these waters, and of several king's ships and letters of marque which they spoke during this last part of the cruise not one had met with a prize.

It will be necessary shortly to notice the conduct of the managers towards their employees in the *Royal Family*, but it may be more convenient to the reader to group such comments at the end than to disperse them, as the original does, among the events of the story. The latter included a meeting with two regular ships of the Algerine navy, a frigate and a 50 gun ship flying an admiral's flag and cruising against the Spaniards and Portuguese. From them Walker, as commanding an English ship of war, made the customary inquiries as to whether they had any British subjects on board, after which they parted with mutual salutes.

Later on, sailing out of Lisbon River as passenger on a packet vessel homeward bound, he met another Algerine in very different circumstances. Apparently a representative of the corsairs who for centuries had terrorised the shores of Britain, and whose high peaked sails were even at this late date sometimes seen in the Chops of the Channel this craft threatened the British packet. Walker, by request, assumed command and applying those qualities by which he earned the epithet of "that most surprising Seaman,"² he bluffed the rovers into a crest-

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society: Proceedings, Second Series, vol. 5.

² "That able and most surprising Seaman, Commodore Walker." Title page, 2nd Edition, 1762.

fallen departure. This was to be the last of his "surprises," as also the last time he was ever to hear a gun fired at sea in wartime. The story of the marauding maritime states of Africa in relation to the southern coasts of Europe has yet to be written. Slight as are the references in the narrative they afford glimpses of the time when the great powers were still too busy with their own wars and jealousies to deal with the "Scourge of Christendom."¹

The dissolution of the *Royal Family* was now at hand. Parting company off the Rock of Lisbon the other ships went home and the Commodore took the *King George* into the port on March 25, 1747/8. A month later the war ended in the unsatisfactory peace of Aix la Chapelle.

Having defeated all his enemies at sea Walker was to find it more difficult to dispose of those on shore. A state of confusion had arisen between the agents at Lisbon and the managers at home, which boded ill for the rights of the officers and men. The *King George* was seized by the agents for debt against the managers,² and "the Commodore found his ship all at once slipt away from under him, the cruise frustrated, and all his men adrift in a foreign country, without money, no care had, or provision made for them, open mouthed in their abuses against the managers."

In this dilemma many of the men in disgust accepted employment in Portugal and Spain, and Walker himself was approached with an offer from the King of Portugal of the command of a ship of war, in whose service he would, no doubt, have risen to high rank. It speaks volumes for his patriotism and his simple trust in his countrymen that he refused. How that faith was requited will presently be told. He did, indeed, approach Sir Benjamin Keene on the subject. His Excellency, in reply, delivered himself of a pontifical utterance in the best traditions of officialdom, combining an ingenious mixture of lofty sentiment and casuistry with a promise that he would use his personal interest at home to obtain for Walker his due reward. The narrator, whose remarks in regard to these affairs are distinguished by moderation, briefly observes "if he did, the other never heard of it."

Upon his arrival in England, at the end of the war, Walker, secure in the belief that he was entitled by his exertions to a modest fortune, took up with enthusiasm the cause of the revival of the British Fisheries, which was then beginning to occupy public attention. In it he

¹ "The history of the foreign relations of Algiers and Tunis is one long indictment, not of one, but of all the maritime powers of Europe, on the charge of cowardice and dishonour." Lane Poole, "The Barbary Corsairs." See also footnotes, pp. 185, 191, 208.

² Both the agents and Walker himself had already advanced large sums to the ships' companies against their prize money, in the natural belief that the managers would recoup them.

sank most of what he possessed before any distribution from the accounts of the *Royal Family* was made. Many pamphlets were published on the question about this time, one at least of which was either written by Walker himself or based upon the results of his work. In October, 1750, a Royal Charter was issued incorporating the *Society of the Free British Fishery*. Of this body the Prince of Wales was Governor and the Council included many men of distinction. Among the ordinary members were Belchier and Ironside, Robert Macky (one of Walker's original owners), Baker, the Master of Lloyds, and last but not least Walker himself.¹ The project proved a failure, the reason for which is probably to be found in Walker's remark that he "found Party contending for a majority in it, and Inexperience presiding at the board." Capital of £104,000 was raised within eighteen months and in 1756 the Society possessed thirty busses,² the crews being drawn chiefly from the Orkneys. Financial and other difficulties were encountered, some of the vessels being taken by French privateers, and the remaining boats and other effects were sold in 1772 for £6,391.³

Meantime Walker was doing work of permanent value, not only towards reviving the fisheries of the herring—*princeps piscium*, as the ancient writers regarded him—but also that of the cod and the ling. On June 23, 1749, we find that "Capt. Walker, late Commander of the *Royal Family* Privateers, in the *Baltimore* sloop, having on board several gentlemen appointed to fix on proper places for establishing a fishery on the coast of Scotland, fell down the River to Gravesend, and is bound to the Isles of Orkney and Zetland for that Purpose."⁴ In the course of this expedition he visited Leith and anchored in Brassa Sound, on the 16th July, where he "found 60 sail of busses fishing and as busy as Bees in a Hive," with their attendant Guard and Hospital ships.⁵ He reports that "from the Port of Dunkirk only [alone] the French have had 12 sail of busses in Brassa Sound last season, and their masters being commanders of privateers in the late war, strike a damp upon the inhabitants." From the Orkneys and Shetlands he sailed down the west coast visiting the islands, sounding the harbours, and obtaining a mass of information as to resources, food, fishing and other industries. Of the Isle of Arran he made a special study. The west Highland coast was *terra incognita* at this period, so soon after the events of 1745, and Walker did valuable pioneer work at his own

¹ Pamph. Edinburgh, 1751.

² A strongly built vessel of 50 to 70 tons, of Dutch type and origin, having two masts.

³ Fulton, "Sovereignty of the Sea," p. 534.

⁴ "Gents. Mag.," 1749.

⁵ In the Macpherson collection there is an interesting print depicting this busy scene. It is called *The free British Fishery off Shetland*, and was engraved by Anthony Walker (1726-65).

expense with little publicity and no reward.¹ Contemporary pamphlets embodied much of his results and one of them contains the following, with which the reference to this subject may be concluded : " Captain Walker, late commander of the *Royal Family* Privateers, in which station he behaved with uncommon Conduct and Bravery, is about taking a long lease of the Isle of Arran for himself and some other gentlemen in order to improve it for the Fishery ; a most laudable example of true Patriotism, first boldly to wage war with the enemies of his country and then to employ the Reward of his Dangers and Toils in improving the same at home." ²

The many references in the narrative to unsatisfactory relations with the managers of the *Royal Family* are so vague and inconclusive as to give the reader little idea of the facts, necessarily so, perhaps, seeing that at the time of publication no settlement of the disputed matters had been reached and the resentment of powerful persons might still be incurred. In order to complete the story of Walker's career as far as possible, to vindicate the memory of a man who deserved well of his country, and to show what risks the privateersman ran, not from battle and shipwreck alone, but from dishonest owners, original sources have been closely studied, and the story may be told briefly as follows.

Whatever may have been the case in regard to Talbot's crews, in 1745 there is no doubt that, from the first, trickery prevailed on the part of the managers towards the officers and men of the *Royal Family*. The discontent in regard to the articles at Bristol has already been mentioned. On returning with their booty great numbers of the men were, at the alleged instigation of the owners, impressed for the navy and never received their prize money, which, instead of being divided in the stipulated manner, was deposited in the Bank of England and made subject to an order of the Court of Chancery. In 1749 some of the sailors filed a bill in Chancery, demanding an account, and in 1752 the Master of the Rolls made a decree in their favour. The owners, however, raised dilatory pleas, and the plaintiffs, through lack of means, were unable to pursue their claims with vigour. The hearings lasted till 1810, when on technical grounds the matter was dropped.³

Bad as was the fate of the common men, the treatment of the Commodore, whose brains and bravery had provided this huge fortune for the owners, stands alone for mean rascality. The old-fashioned sailorman was a child in regard to figures and finance, and he certainly

¹ " Fisheries Revived, from the journal of a Gentleman who surveyed them last Summer, with Plans." Lond. 1750.

² " Letter to an M.P. The Free British Fisheries," Lond. 1750.

³ Latimer, " Annals of Bristol, XVIIIth Century," " Bristol Mirror," Jan. 5, 1850. " Case of Pearson v. Belchier. Vesey," 4th vol.

delivered himself bound into the hands of the Israelites on this occasion. The prizes having been condemned and sold for £200,000, the owners became debtors to Walker for his share and allowances as "Commander-in-Chief and Quartermaster" of the *Royal Family* and also on account of the sum of £7,247 for advances made by him to the officers and men at Lisbon, for which he had lodged the vouchers with the owners. Nothing having been paid, Walker applied to them in 1749 for an advance of £2,550 to finance his fishing scheme referred to above. To obtain this he was trapped into signing a bond which assigned to them his interest in the prizes, £2,878, and also the £7,247 advanced by him, until the loan was repaid. Walker, busy with his schemes, allowed things to drift, and the owners pretended the accounts were too intricate to come to any settlement; in the meantime they secretly received from the men's agent (Casamajor) repayment of the sum of £7,247 and other moneys which should have gone into Walker's pocket—but did not.

So things drifted until 1756, when war broke out. Walker, with high hopes of further fame at sea, had been appointed to command a ship owned by John Cruickshank, a London merchant, when on the 21st May he was arrested for a debt of £800 at the suit of Belchier and Jalabert, two of the owners, and thrust into the King's Bench Prison, where he remained for four years, the first twelve months *in close confinement* which ruined his health. In May, 1757, he was made a bankrupt.¹

The iniquitous bankruptcy laws of the time provided that the certificate of a bankrupt could be withheld if even one creditor refused to sign. Walker, who had "surrendered his All," as he pathetically says, was thus held in durance against the wishes of other creditors by the malevolence of Belchier and Jalabert. This and similar cases exhibited such a scandalous state of affairs that an inquiry was held by a committee of the House of Commons in 1759, with a view to altering the law. It is amazing to find that Belchier, Common Councilman and M.P., was actually a member of this committee which cross-examined his victim! The evidence proved that the estate of the bankrupt consisted chiefly of a very large debt due to him from the managers of the *Royal Family*, and, apart from that, they had omitted to give him credit for a sum by which the balance would have been in his favour instead of against him. The laws—after much delay—were ameliorated. Also, poor Walker was released from the debtor's prison in which he had been immured on a fictitious charge. We may be sure that he emerged into the free air of this "land for heroes" with a heart and will unbroken by misfortune, though with health impaired.²

¹ Cruickshank and James Coutts, the Banker, were the assignees of his estate and effects.

² House of Commons Journals, 1758, April-June.

The narrative tells us no more about him except that he afterwards commanded a ship in the fishing trade and had at least one good friend at his back. Research has so far failed to throw any light on his parentage, birth, and boyhood. Not a hint can be gained from the story, or from any other source as to his domestic life or amorous adventures, but, unfortunate as he was in money matters, one may cherish the hope that the old gods endowed him with their classic compensation and made him "lucky in love." He has left an imperishable name as the greatest of the English privateer captains,—a man singularly modest, conspicuously sincere, brave as a lion, untiring and fearless in the performance of his duty, and clever in all things but those affecting his own pocket.

The "Town and Country Magazine" for October, 1777, contains this notice of his death:—"Sept. 20th, George Walker, Esquire, of Seething Lane, Tower St., formerly Commodore and Commander of the *Royal Family* private ships of war"; and an entry in the register of the church of All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, attests his burial there on September 24, 1777.

Commodore Walker's "Voyages and Cruises" are now reprinted for the first time since 1762. The edition of 1760—from which this version is taken—was published by Millar of the Strand; that of 1762 by Hunter of Dublin. The two texts are practically identical.

In the Introduction and footnotes to the text I have included much additional matter from contemporary and original sources explanatory not only of George Walker's adventures but of the privateering life of his period, some understanding of which is necessary to an appreciation of the maritime history of those years.

Although, through his own modesty, Walker left behind him no details as to his origin and early career he was fortunate in that his most famous actions were celebrated by the brush of a marine painter of particular merit. Charles Brooking himself, perhaps, was fortunate in acquiring a subject that inspired him to most of his best work, though it was almost the only piece of luck that attended his short and tragic life. The six plates which, by kind permission of the British Museum, are here reproduced—and brought together for the first time—from the engravings by Boydell and Ravenet after Brooking's pictures, are remarkable not only for accuracy of nautical detail but for truthful and sympathetic rendering of nature. Brooking died just as his foot was on the lowest rung of the ladder of fame, and a painter was lost who gave promise of attaining the highest distinction in his particular métier.

Also by permission of the British Museum I have reproduced as

Frontispiece an engraving of the famous Spanish *Glorioso*, which figures prominently in the narrative. She is represented after her capture, flying the Union Jack above the white flag of Spain. The plate shows, with great clearness, many interesting details of hull and rigging.

I have received much courteous assistance from the authorities and officials of the Public Record Office, British Museum, India Office Library, Admiralty Library and London Library, to all of whom I tender my sincere thanks.

HERBERT S. VAUGHAN

VOYAGES AND CRUISES

VOYAGES IN THE *DUKE WILLIAM*

CHAPTER I

Mr. Walker, being part owner of the ship Duke William, takes out letters of marque for her ; escapes a Spanish privateer ; enters with his ship into the government's service at Carolina ; and protects the trade of that province

WE are now beginning with the detail of several actions, wherein Mr. Walker, as a commander, always prevailed to the entire satisfaction of his employers, and of the officers and people under him. We would not, however, have it imagined that he undertook and executed such command undisciplined in the art of war. Such successes could not in the nature of things be expected, but from an attained knowledge and approved experience of the powers of that art. He was not, it is true, brought up in the navy of England, a circumstance so far a disadvantage to him, as more than once to have frustrated the intentions of some gentlemen, his friends, who wished to see his talents exerted in that higher sphere of honour—but he was early and regularly educated in the navy of Holland ; and had been in some engagements under various commanders in the Dutch service against the Turks. An universal peace becalming the European seas, he turned his talents to the attaining a fortune in the nearest branch of business to that in which he was educated, namely, that of trading, in his own ships, wherein he always commanded. To this cir-

cumstance we may greatly ascribe that calmness of temper, and presence of mind, so prevalent in him on all occasions ; as he learned the art of command and œconomy together, at the constant risque of his own property.

In this station we will take him up in the year 1739-40, commander, and a considerable owner of the ship *Duke William*, bound from London to Gibraltar, and from thence to South Carolina. The war being now declared, and Mr. Walker chusing to reap what advantages thereof might accrue in the aforesaid passage, determined to put himself in the best posture of defence, and took out letters of marque for the said ship, not with an intent to cruise as a privateer, but to proceed with her on a trading voyage. Accordingly he fitted her out with twenty guns ; but did not incumber his trade with a greater expence than that of taking thirty-two men, his business being only to secure his voyage : for which purpose he also took with him a parcel of marine cloaths and other things, to make a shew of men answerable to the force of the ship, in case of meeting with an enemy. He had the good fortune to succeed in his device a very few days after he set sail.

In his passage from London to Gibraltar, off Cape Finisterre, at break of day, we fell in with a Spanish privateer of twenty-four guns ; and seeing her a ship of force, and full of men, Mr. Walker immediately ordered our marines on deck, who wanted no breast-work between them and the enemy, either to conceal their number, or in reality to save them from their fire. Thus setting up all the hand-spikes and other provided utensils, and dressing them in the marine cloaths, and also exercising the boatswain's call, in the highest notes,¹ as is usual in king's ships, we made all apparent and

¹ The pipe or whistle used by the boatswain and his mates to pass orders round the ship. " If the call is blown into with moderate force a certain note, dependent on the make of the call, will be obtained. If, however, it be blown into with greater force and the air which would escape is throttled by the fingers a note of almost an octave above the former will be sounded." " *Mariner's Mirror* " i. 9.

indeed real preparations of engaging : our fictitious soldiery not being in our way, in case of an engagement, and serving at first to intimidate the enemy. Upon one of our officer's saying with some humour, if we came too near with our scheme, the enemy might be too well pleased in understanding the joke, Mr. Walker made answer : " Do you but fire well your guns, and the smoke will befriend you ; especially if we have an enemy of spirit, who will fire theirs : if not, the wooden men will take them off themselves." However, at the droll appearance of this equipment, Mr. Walker could not help often breaking off, in the midst of his orders, into fits of laughter : which were as heartily seconded by the whole crew. This very much took off the sense of the great danger we were in, and so spirited the men, that, as we were well gunned, we had certainly not fallen an easy prey to the Spaniard in case of his engaging us ; for never sure so small a number of men expected the attack of a superior enemy with less concern, or more in wit and spirits. All things, nevertheless, being well-ordered and prepared for the worst event, it being our place to appear the challengers, Mr. Walker lay by for the enemy, they being to windward ; and ordered a gun of defiance to be fired athwart their forefoot, by way of offering them battle. This the Spaniard did not return, nor yet did he seem resolved to decline the contest ; but still kept us company for two days ; we pursuing our way, and he hovering on us in the wind : at last he disappeared, assuredly mistaking us for a greater force than we were.

When we arrived at South Carolina, Mr. Walker was disappointed by the cargo's not being ready, which he expected. Whereupon he went to North Carolina ; and there being informed that their coasts had been infested by two Spanish privateers, which had greatly obstructed and injured their trade, and that they were at present unprotected by any of his Majesty's fleet, he offered his ship for the government's service, to act in the defence of their coasts, and for the protection of their trade. His proposals being gladly accepted, terms

were agreed on, the men put all at wages as in the king's ships, and his complement made up to an hundred and thirty, Mr. Walker, tho' commander, entered himself a volunteer ; an example so well approved that several gentlemen of the country entered on board as volunteers also.

In July we set out on a four months' cruise, to extend as far southwards as St. Augustin, the next port to Georgia ; and northwards as far as the cape of Virginia. We soon restored the trade of the country to its former quiet, having, in a short time, intirely cleared the coasts of privateers ; the two Spanish ships above-mentioned having quitted their cruise, as we suppose, upon receiving some intelligence of our fitting out. We could fall in with nothing which would stay for us upon the seas ; and in this whole cruise, only retook the *Neptune*, Captain Darby, who had been taken by the above privateers. Mr. Walker, finding that the Spaniards had their place of rendezvous at Okrekoke, an island upon the coast of North Carolina, which they took possession of by claim of arms, and had there erected a fort of six guns, we went ashore, and demolished the battery and fortifications ; so that the Spaniards never returned during our stay on that station, which intirely broke their plan of privateering in those seas.¹

With this success only, the cruise ended ; by which time a king's ship was sent to take station on the coast. Upon our return, governor Gabriel Johnston, and the whole assembly of the place, had an occasional [special] meeting, in which public thanks, in the name of the governor and assembly, were ordered to be returned to Mr. Walker for his great services in the protection of their trade ; and indeed every mark of respect, both outward and private, were shewn him by the gentlemen of the country, who often made offer to him of writing home to the lords of the admiralty, and asking, in a collective body, a king's ship for him ; a favour which he declined, as he knew that by the

¹ See Introduction, page xxiv.

rules of the navy a man must have served in it two years before he can obtain a command. Their friendship then would have secured his stay amongst them by a further offer of a large tract of land, which they had power of presenting him by a complimentary use of their law in his favour. As a man is there intitled to fifty acres of land for every servant whom he brings with him, under his command, to settle in the country, so they absolutely offered him six thousand five hundred acres as an inducement to him to settle among them, rating each man under his command in the ship as a servant at the time, intitling him to the usual claim. This indulgence also was then refused, as incompatible with his other pursuits of life. That posterity will, in a few years, wonder at this and the like refusals, may be easily foreseen, when an estate of like extent may be of such significancy in esteem as to dignify its possessor with respected honours, in perhaps one of the finest countries of the world.

As generosity founded on gratitude is one of the most distinguishing virtues, I could not be less particular in shewing that it is a plant which already flourishes in our infant colonies.

CHAPTER II

The loss of the Duke William at sea, in her passage home from North Carolina

THE cruise being over, and the coast otherways defended, our men were reduced to their former number, and Mr. Walker set sail on his trading voyage to Barbadoes. There he lay four months for a cargo ; and thence sailed October 31, 1742, in company with the captains Staples, Chambers and Burrows, who put themselves under our convoy. The first night after we left Barbadoes, Captain Burrows lost company ; but the captains Staples and Chambers continued with us till the 12th of December, and then they also were parted from us in a storm. In this hurricane, which

was very violent, we sprung one of our butts,¹ or planks of the ship. Being then two hundred leagues to the westward of Scilly, and the ship making a great deal of water, we soon became in great distress, both our pumps going night and day. What added much to our affliction was Mr. Walker's ill state of health, who had not been out of his bed for three weeks before, on account of the bloody flux [dysentery]; and was thereby reduced to such a lowness of spirits as to be scarce able to give any direction, our surgeon having given over all hopes of his life. Our officers and men were at first for throwing the boat and all the guns overboard, in order to ease the ship: this expedient was executed, reserving two of the guns, kept by Mr. Walker's order to make signals, and the boat, which he insisted they should not part with. In other particulars the scheme was fulfilled. The storm continuing, the leak daily increased from the fourteenth to the seventeenth and our men being quite fatigued, and not able to stand to the pumps, despairing of all succour (for it was not in our utmost power to keep the ship above water twelve hours longer, she having, notwithstanding our incessant labour, eight feet of water in her hold), some of the officers and crew agreed to take to the boat, as the last refuge for their lives; thinking themselves happy in having it preserved for them to this end. Mr. Walker, who, notwithstanding his illness, insisted on being regularly informed of every circumstance of the ship, now ordered himself to be taken out of his bed, and carried upon deck. He there represented to them the impossibility of the boat's being able to hold above one half of the people; and demonstrated that in all probability she must be devoured by the waves, the sea still running mountains high. He therefore assured them their only hopes must be that providence would send some sail to their assistance; and the longer they kept the ship from

¹ The joining of two planks endways. To "spring a butt" is to loosen the end of a plank by the ship's labouring; the leak under water is almost impossible to stop.

sinking, the greater was the probability of their being preserved : that even if a sail did appear, the most they could expect from their boat would be to transport them from one ship to the other. This argument, with grief finding way to their conviction, they applied themselves with double diligence to the pumps : but no relief appearing, and the men being again intirely spent, the argument on the other side seemed to prevail, of taking to our boat, as the only, tho' sad, expedient for the instant to fly to ; the people saying that if half might be spared, better that half should be saved than all should perish. Nay, some who were over-fatigued with labour, or judged there was as little chance of safety in the boat as in the ship, declared they would not press to the boat, as they would as lief sink in the one as in the other.

During the time in which we were fixing the tackle aloft, for hoisting out the boat, being about two o'clock in the afternoon, we spied a sail off the weather-quarter. Every man was now again alive, and for living as long as another. Mr. Walker, who still continued upon deck with uncommon spirits, rather gaining strength than sinking, as was expected, under his illness, ordered all the signals of distress to be made by hoisting a flag upside down, at the top-mast-head, and firing our guns. The ship, perceiving our signals, drew near to us ; and how anxious, yet pleasing, were the moments of seeing our deliverance come more and more in view ! But, at length, she discovering us a ship of war, and apprehensive of an intent in us to decoy her, all at once hauled her wind, and got from us as fast as she could. Night now coming on, and the storm continuing, our distress was again renewed with double feelings, if possible, of our misery. A ghastly silence for some minutes prevailed, each man beholding the surprize and sorrow in the countenance of his disappointed brother ; when Mr. Walker gave orders for the mizenmast to be immediately cut by the board. They who first received his orders not readily seeing its intent made some scruple in executing it : at last, the thought like a flash of lightning breaking upon the

minds of the whole ship, it was in an instant down. This the other ship at a distance observing, their attention being again drawn to us by a second firing of our guns, and thereby convinced of the reality of our distress, she directly bore down to our assistance. But how greatly did the surprize heighten the joy of our approaching deliverance when Mr. Walker, having his glass in his hand, cried out, "Good God ! 'tis my worthy friend Captain Burrows," for there was a particular love and friendship subsisting between them. This was the same gentleman who had lost company of us the first night after we left Barbadoes ; and whom since then we had never seen, till this critical moment of our fate. Having been chased the evening before by a Spanish privateer, he altered his course in the night to get rid of her, and was thus providentially set right into the road to our deliverance, and his own.

Captain Burrows, on the true discovery of us, was as ready on his side to do us every eager act of friendship : but had no boat proper to send to our help, his largest having been washed overboard some days before in the storm, and the other which was left being too small to live in the present sea ; so that we were solely to trust to our own ; and had she not been providentially at first preserved to us by the authority of Mr. Walker, or been afterwards taken away by any of the officers and crew, as was endeavoured, all or the part that remained must now have perished in the very sight of our friends, unprovided to relieve us. The boat being obliged to go twice with our people, as the days were short, and so little residue of light left, the sea running still very high, it was with the utmost difficulty we all got on board ; which, however, we did under the great will of providence without the loss of one man. The expressions of thanks to that providence, and of joy in meeting our countrymen and friends, as ordained to be the means of this deliverance, were not long abated before the moon rising, as it were, on purpose to light us to the prospect, we saw with a renewal of some melancholy, our ship go down : which was in less than two hours from our quitting her, we

being then about one hundred and seventy leagues westward of Scilly, December the seventeenth. However, we were soon cheered in the reflection of our own escape ; and Mr. Walker's surprising recovery added to the present satisfaction of that safety. From the moment he was lifted from his bed he every hour after increased in health and strength : owing in all probability to the sudden exertion of his spirits, and turn of blood on the occasion.

But the visible designs of providence to us all, at this juncture, were not over. Mr. Burrow's ship also in the same storm had sprung a small leak, which next day after our joining him visibly encreased ; and in two days after, by the time our men had somewhat recovered the use of their limbs, was so great as to give employment to all hands : so that if a less number had been on board, she must inevitably have gone to the bottom. As it was, we did a second time but just escape ; the same preserving hand which directed her to our deliverance, in the same act designing her relief by the additional number of our men.

In this condition, we in five days after made Scilly, being the first land ; and got in safe, to stop her leak : for which purpose we were obliged to lay there eight days. We then came round the land, and January the first, 1742-3, arrived at Dover, from whence Mr. Walker took chaise, and went to London. Here a new misfortune happened to him : for the insurance that had been regularly carried on for his concern in the said ship, which was very considerable, was by some mistake, neglected to be renewed but two months before his arrival. Thus, we may say, he at land a second time lost his said ship, and all his property in her.

The journals having been lost with the ship, we could not be so particular in the relation of some circumstances, especially as to time, as might otherwise be expected from us. The like excuse we must also make in regard to the next following cruise but one ; as the very same reason, tho' not with the like misfortune, subsists also there,

VOYAGE IN THE *RUSSIA MERCHANT*

CHAPTER III

*Voyage to Gottenburgh and Cronstadt, near Petersburg ;
three remarkable executions there*

AS there is a year's chasm, between the loss of the *Duke William* and Mr. Walker's taking on him the command of another ship of war, in which time he was not idle, we will just give an account how he employed the year till the breaking out of the French war : lest other people may be taught to believe that some mismanagement, which we wanted to hide, was the cause of our leaving out any part of his life during the war. In this space some occurrences happened, new in their nature, which we will venture to give to the reader, in excuse for taking up his time in noting the transactions of the year.

After the loss of the said ship, Mr. Walker's former joint owners, Mr. Robert Macky (a gentleman, to whom Mr. Walker is under the greatest obligations, as a friend to him even at this day) and Mr. William Vigor, joined him in the purchase of a very fine snow,¹ about one hundred and thirty tons, called the *Russia Merchant*, to be employed in the Petersburg or Baltic trade ; in which she made three trips within the year. The first was from London, in March 1743, to Gottenburgh, in Sweden, and back again in June following : but this produced no incident worth recounting.

On the twenty-eighth of the same month, he sailed

¹ A two-masted vessel square-rigged on both masts. A snow at that time differed from a brig chiefly in having a trysail mast (close abaft the mainmast) to which the boom-mainsail was bent by hoops.

upon his second voyage to Petersburg; and in the following month arrived at that city. During his stay in the country, he was spectator of a very remarkable execution, viz. of several noblemen and ladies of the first rank and quality: who were sentenced to be broke on the wheel, for a conspiracy against the present Empress Elizabeth. These very persons were the instruments, but the year before, of bringing her, as the daughter of the late Peter the Great, to the throne, by the best-laid plan that ever produced so great a revolution of government; and this without one drop of blood being spilt on the occasion. But she taking, as they thought, other and new favourites to be more near her person, as assistants to her in the direction of affairs of state, these unhappy persons associated in a conspiracy of poisoning her; in which the French ambassador, Chétardie,¹ was said to have been the actuating instigator, though he turned traitor to his confederates the evening before the intended treason. This affair was afterwards more fully disclosed by our English Lord Tyrawly,² who was sent plenipotentiary to that court. This nobleman, by getting at the Frenchman's papers, and other detections, set him forth to the Empress in his true light; and had him sent home in the utmost disgrace, the Empress only allowing him a scanty time, even to take refreshment, through her

¹ Jacques J. Trotti, Marquis de la Chétardie (1705-58), a French soldier and diplomatist, who saw much war service in Italy. When ambassador in Russia he was partly instrumental in bringing about the accession of Elizabeth (Dec. 1741). On his second mission he and Lestocq, the Empress's French physician, supported the cause of Prussia, in opposition to the views of the Russian Chancellor, who dreaded the aggressive schemes of Frederick II. They were both expelled, and Russia allied herself with Austria in the Seven Years' War. Chétardie was brilliant but frivolous, and displayed little judgment. "Il sacrifiait tout au désir de briller et de jouer un rôle."

² James O'Hara, 2nd Lord Tyrawley (1690-1773) was a distinguished diplomat and soldier, who had fought under Marlborough. He was ambassador extraordinary in Russia, Nov. 1743-Feb. 1745. Horace Walpole says he was "imperiously blunt, haughty and contemptuous, with an undaunted portion of spirit, a great deal of humour and occasional good breeding."

dominions. The person who was next to suffer execution was a priest, a man of seeming great address and politeness : he was said to be one of the highest sense and understanding. His crime was that of introducing a kind of schism in their church, which is of the Greek persuasion, differing little from the Roman Catholic faith except in the two points of transubstantiation, and supremacy of papal authority. The new method he substituted was in the manner of crossing themselves, the usual way being with the two first fingers and thumb, representing the Trinity ; whereas he taught the crossing with one only, representing the all-sufficiency of one God ; which was understood by his brother-priests as a lessening the other two persons of the Hypostatical union. The third was a merchant, or commissioner, who having been trusted by the government as agent in some department, had been found guilty of embezzling the public money ; this being held amongst them a crime of the highest nature. At the place of execution, as is usual, they beat a drum to demand silence, and then each person's crimes were proclaimed to the populace. After this ceremony was performed, and whilst the directors and state criminals were preparing, the one to perform, and the other to suffer the sentence passed, the Empress's special pardon came down, excusing the severity of death, but in its place ordering the punishment of knouting, their tongues to be cut out, and their persons banished to Siberia. The knouting is a kind of whipping with an instrument like a single-handed flail ; with which the operating proficient can, in two or three strokes at the most, cut the patient to death, when the sentence so directs. But there the seeming rigour of the orders was even greatly lessened in the performance, the stripes being laid on their naked backs more out of ignominy than punishment ; and the ceremony of cutting out their tongues being got over by a small part taken off, so as to be more an inconvenience at the time than hindrance to their speaking ; except as to one lady, who made some great struggles in defence of that member, so that the executioner was obliged to exert

a little violence, and in using his opportunity, took off a larger share than perhaps he intended ; or she, by her indignation at him when done, seemed willing to part with. They were all immediately put together in vehicles, without regard to sex or distinction, and sent out of the city, on their banishment.

As the priest's offence was against the Church only, he had no advocates there to speak for mercy. He bore his sentence, which was beheading, with an undaunted intrepidity, from his first advancing on the scaffold to his last resignation, affecting, and indeed, rivalling the character of a martyr ; so that it is more than probable, as he had many proselytes, he obtained his design by making some new disciples among the multitude, to preach his doctrine after him.

The last business was of all the most moving, that of the agent to the government, to whom all hopes of a reprieve were cut off, defrauding of the government being there equal to clipping of coin amongst us. He did not discover any want of the powers of a man, to bear him up thro' this last trial : but the affecting scene arose in the interview of taking leave between him and his wife, for she attended him even to this tragic stage. She was, beyond representing it, the living picture of sorrow ; and her whole address was very tender. When sinking down from him under the heart-breaking pain of the last embrace, she felt an end of all ; for she first met the stroke of death, never more recovering from her swoon. His sudden agonies on the occasion were very striking, and a more heightened tragedy than imitation ever represented on fiction's stage. He hastened to his death, and we to close the scene.

CHAPTER IV

Voyage to Copenhagen ; the public entrance of the Princess Louisa ; an account of an English prisoner there ; a melancholy accident on the ice ; and Mr. Walker's return to London

MR. WALKER, having returned from Petersburg to London in October, again set sail on his third voyage, and arrived at Copenhagen in the middle of November following. As he was here made prisoner by the season, his ship being froze up, we will also detain the reader for a while in the amusements that intervened. The weather here, notwithstanding the strength of the frost, is extremely clear and pleasant ; nor is the cold at all disagreeably sharp, rather enlivening the spirits than giving any shuddering checks of inaction to the body. But it was remarkably serene and temperate, as if Nature joined in the universal joy, when the Princess Louisa¹ made her public entrance on her marriage with the Prince of Denmark, the present king ; which for so great a respect shewn an English princess, cannot help being mentioned by an English spectator of it. She appeared drest in her marriage robes in an open chariot, or rather a triumphal car designed on purpose, in the richest state of grandeur and ornament, and drawn by six white horses in very superb trappings. The Prince's sister sat with her in the chariot, and the Prince himself rode before them on horseback, so rich in dress and his number of foot-attendants, as to perplex the view where to fix on the chief object of its admiration. Not an house in the great streets thro' which they passed, but was covered with hangings of tapestry, or whole pieces of velvet, tacked on the columns or piers, richly or fancifully bordered, with other ornaments of pictures, or carvings with occasional designs above and under the windows ;

¹ Louisa, youngest child of George II, was married to Frederick, Prince of Denmark, 11th December, 1743. Walpole described her as a princess of great spirit.

and at the end of each of the streets were triumphal arches erected of various and beautiful architecture, with decorations of paintings, gildings, and flowers ; in all of which were placed the arms of England and Denmark joined, and soft musick of flutes or hautboys, to play as the procession passed below. This, with the number of led and attending equipages, most of which were intirely new and grand, with the army, and various bands of martial instruments, great officers and ensigns of state, was a sight of splendor and magnificence that fully satisfied the eager sense of expectation. The first coach of the officers who preceded, reached the palace at eleven o'clock ; and the last of the nobility's, who all followed according to their rank and dignity, did not get up till past nine, so long was the procession and so numerous the attendants. The jubilee, as we may call it, held for a full week, in which time all public diversions were afloat, and every noble's private table a public entertainment, while several fountains before their doors flowed for the populace with wine. Every day guns were discharged quite round the town ; which as the city is walled round, and of a regular figure, with the successive firings circulated on the ear in a pleasing exactness. Every night were constant illuminations throughout the whole city ; and the ships in the harbour were also the whole time lighted out with the greatest fancy, and from their reflected lustre outvied the land. In short, the whole, from the highest noble to the lowest plebeian, was an elegant expression of mutual congratulation and public joy.

A very remarkable person was then at Copenhagen, who had been kept a prisoner in an iron cage. Mr. Walker went to see him ; he was a gentleman of Lancashire, esteemed a man of profound policy. He had been employed by Charles XII, King of Sweden, and particularly trusted by that monarch in acts of bold emprise. His alledged crime against Denmark was said to have been an intent to steal away the Prince, when a boy, as he rode along the coast, and to have carried him an hostage to Sweden, which was then at variance with Denmark. But his real design,

which he confessed, was to have raised an insurrection in favour of his royal master, to forward his designs of an invasion upon England.¹ Being detected in his attempt he was, under the forementioned pretensions, imprisoned by the state. He afterwards had made his escape and got to Hamburg, where he boasted that all Denmark had not a cage able to hold him. But, with all his cunning, being seduced by some of his acquaintance, who betrayed him, to walk out of one of the towns near to which some territories of the Danes belonged, he was, insensibly to himself, led on Danish ground, and there arrested, and brought back to Denmark; which was the reason of his having been so caged. He had been in his cage upwards of eleven years, but at this time was let out into a large room. He had wrote several volumes of anecdotes and annals, but as he was a great bigot to party, none of his performances have been allowed to trouble mankind. During his long confinement, which had lasted upwards of thirty years, he never had one hour's illness; and had let his beard grow to a venerable length, reaching to the middle of his thighs. As a memorandum of himself he would sometimes give to a person he liked a single hair of it, by way of a present: and it was really no little curiosity, being quite of a silver whiteness. Among the various amusements which enabled him to pass his time alone, he dwelt with great fondness on the history of a mouse; which grew so familiar with him in his cage as to come regularly to be fed by him, or attend him at his call, and divert him for hours in play, as he lay down to it. At length, growing sick with age, it stayed by him till it died, and expired in his beard, where he had wrapped it up for warmth. He had it buried under his cage, being a ground floor, and wrote a treatise shewing the sagacity of animals, and their desire of intimacy with man.

As a parallel case I have been told, or read, a story of a man who was kept a prisoner in a Turkish government for many years, when the Basha of the place

¹ In 1717 Charles XII projected a landing in Scotland in favour of James Stuart, the Old Pretender.



Privateersmen exercising small-arms and guns.

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often taking occasion of asking the officers how the man diverted himself in his lonely hours, was at last informed by one of them that he had taken notice of his diverting himself, several hours together in a day, with a spider ; which frequently descended to him from over his head, to be fed and played with ; which, when touched below, ran himself up by his thread ; and so again come down, as pleased with the diversion. The Prince ordered the officer to plant him so as to behold the scene. " O Sir," says the officer, " I immediately, upon being convinced of the amusement, went in upon them and killed the spider." " Did you so ? " says the Prince. " Then he shall be more reasonably diverted, and you go in his place ; and, I hope, find the happiness of making such an acquaintance : " so he released the prisoner, and put the cruel officer in his room.

He mentioned several secret actions of past time as facts of his own knowledge ; which would be worth notice, could we introduce them in place. But the more surprising historian was a gentleman, a native of Norway, Baron Holberg,¹ then one hundred and twenty-three years of age, in a public office of the king's revenue at Copenhagen, having all his senses and faculties perfect as in youth, except his hearing. The king had his picture in his curiosity-chamber. Mr. Walker was introduced into his company ; he was very entertaining in conversation, had been in England the greater part of his youth, and was a spectator of the death of Charles I. Had some of our modern historians been so fortunate as to have happened on this acquaintance, they had informed themselves better of some circumstances regarding that catastrophe, and have done more justice to the character of that King.

One of the winter amusements in this country, both of the genteel and common people, is the exercise of sliding on the ice. The genteel people have here, but

¹ Baron Louis de Holberg, Danish poet and dramatic author (1684-1754), born at Bergen. Nicknamed the Plautus of Denmark.

more frequently in other places of Germany, sledges or vehicles without wheels, richly ornamented and painted, drawn by a single horse, which is generally covered with trappings of embroidered velvet, or other rich furniture. In this kind of chariot they set the lady, whilst the gentleman stands close to her behind, with the reins brought round the sides, and drives. These vehicles run either in the snow upon land, or on the ice ; and whole parties of gentlemen and ladies go out together a-pleasuring in them. A melancholy accident happened among the common sort, who were skating just by Mr. Walker's ship, after their custom, in a string of men and women, holding each other by the hand. In this manner they often make sweeps or circles, all bearing up together, of great circumference ; and sometimes the leader still running in a lesser and lesser circle, till he makes a stand, the rest wind round him till they become an exact round or circle. Then the last man throwing himself out as leader, they will all again regularly unwind, and go off in various meanderings, very pleasing to be seen, and certainly of great entertainment to themselves ; as from the good spirits the exercise puts them into, they always seem very gay and happy. But as mischance will often interrupt diversion, as fools spoil conversation, the foremost scater in one of these exercises ridiculously threw himself down all of a sudden, tripping the next scater over him, which threw down the next, and so successively one tumbling in an heap over the other, till the force of their falling all in one spot broke the ice, and down the whole unhappy party went, in the midst of their mirth, to the number of about thirty. This was an accident of which the like had not been known to have happened before, and was very deplorable in the confusion and lamentations of the bystanders ; many of whom had some friend, relation or child in the calamity. I hope I shall not be thought by our ladies of England to give too many examples of good wives from among the women of these more northern countries, in just mentioning two instances. One of them who saw her husband thus swallowed in

her presence, ran instantly mad, beating herself upon the ice in vain endeavours of breaking it in search and relief of him; and, in a continued delirium, expired some time afterwards. Another, who was absent from the accident, in melancholy deliberation put herself to death with her husband's sword, leaving a formal letter to her daughter, who was then about eighteen, with arguments which we must own too refined, "that no good wife can survive the loss of a good husband." The poor girl also died in about a month after with inconsolable grief at the loss of her parents; but it was said, she had a further loss also of a lover in the disastrous croud.

Lest, in the above relation, I may do myself an injury with the younger fair ones, as I profess being a batchelor, in gaining if not the censure, or even anger, yet the ridicule of the good wives of England, I must speak here for myself—which is perhaps the only place where I shall take the freedom in the whole history—that tho' every writer is not obliged to give his sentiments of those facts he relates, yet I will venture in this case at delivering mine. Those actions which are the effects of a violence of passion, prove the mind to be too suddenly actuated, and reason too weak to rule. So all that can be inferred from any comparison must be that, as there is not one instance to the contrary, our English ladies have the advantage over the greater part of their own sex, in having more judgment. To give them a further proof of it, a misguided reason will run the system of a woman into the same errors where a weak one leaves them. Thus, I have been assured by a spectator of the action, that in some of the isles belonging to the East Indies, at the funerals of their men, whose bodies are always burnt, the poor enthusiastic wife, young and beautiful, has leapt unobliged to it, into the flames with a eager desire of uniting herself again to the embraces of her lord.

When winter's prisoners were all set free, Mr. Walker again set sail, and went to Gottenburgh, April 2nd, 1744. At this time news came of the

Toulon engagement.¹ The French war being thereupon immediately declared, and every day's succeeding accounts bringing word of the number of small French privateers in those seas, catching up all our ships thereabouts (as they had long before lain ready to sail, waiting only for the word) he was under some uneasiness how to get home, for there was no opportunity of convoy. He therefore had no course of safety to chuse but in stratagem. He remembered his former scheme of adding a mockery of men to his ship the *Duke William* : but then she was really a ship of force. Here he had no more than four guns, and nothing that looked military, whereupon, as casting cannon there might be expensive and tedious, he got a most compleat set of wooden guns, finely modelled, which he painted of a true metaline colour, and fixing nettings or tarpolins upon the quarters, set her out in appearance, even to a near eye, a ship of war, being snow-rigged like a king's sloop.² Under these false colours he sailed out of port

¹ On Feb. 11, 1744, Admiral Mathews engaged an allied French and Spanish force off Toulon. The battle was "a disgrace alike to the discipline, the intelligence, and with a few exceptions, even to the manhood of the navy." (Hannay, "Hist. R.N.," vol. 2, p. 112.) Mathews, nicknamed "Il Furibondo," had been on bad terms with Lestock—who commanded the rear division—from the moment he arrived on the station, and the latter failed to support his chief in action. The English ships were foul, and, when the allied fleet appeared, they struggled out of Hyères Road to the attack in a state of great confusion. The action was indecisive and Mathews failed to pursue ; he himself showed courage in the fight, but his captains, except Cornwall and Hawke, who did brilliantly, were nearly all afflicted with hesitation if not with cowardice. The affair resulted in a crop of courts martial which agitated the nation for a considerable time. Lestock, who wrote a notorious pamphlet attacking his chief, was acquitted. Mathews was found guilty of technical errors and cashiered ; but the justice of this sentence was warmly disputed both by the King and the public. Courts martial were also held on a large number of the captains.

² The sloop of war must not be confused with the fore and aft rigged single-masted vessel commonly known as a sloop. The sloop of war ranked next below a 6th Rate ; she was rigged either as a ship or as a snow, and at this period carried from 8 to 16 guns with a tonnage of 200 to 250, and a crew of about 100.

on a venture homewards and off Cromarty met a privateer, who gave chase. He finding her come up, put about on her, hoisted ensign, jack, and pendant, and fired a gun as waiting for her : she then thought proper to make the best of her way to sea. In the run home he met also several small privateers, like birds, scudding about the seas, who all scoured from him at his appearance, as one of greater prey ; and he arrived in London May following.

CRUISE IN THE *MARS*

CHAPTER V

The encounters of the Mars private ship-of-war ; her surrender ; her being retaken and brought back to England, and Mr. Walker carried into Brest

IN the year 1744, some gentlemen in London and Dartmouth, acquaintances of Mr. Walker's, fitted out two private ships of war, the *Mars* and *Boscawen*. The command of the *Mars* was offered to Mr. Walker, being a fine ship of twenty-six guns, a hundred and thirty men,¹ to sail on a six months' cruise, in conjunction with the *Boscawen*.

In November, both ships set sail from Dartmouth ; and the second day after, fell in with a French ship, a king's frigate of twenty-six guns, two hundred and seventy men from Brest, but a much larger vessel. The *Mars* immediately began to engage her, unassisted by the *Boscawen*, she once or twice firing, but at such a distance as not to reach the enemy. The engagement, which became very warm, lasted for a full hour and an half ; in which, the French having the wind of us, and keeping at a distance, where they have always the best advantage by the expertness of their engineers, very much shattered our rigging, and wounded our main top-mast. They, however, having received from our side, as we found afterwards, considerable damage in her hull, set their sails directly for Brest ; yet still continued the engagement : we following in a running fight, in which several broadsides were exchanged,

¹ In the letter of marque her particulars are 260 tons, 20 guns and 150 men.

when abreast of each other. At last the enemy getting a-head, left off firing his guns, except only his stern chase; and then intirely run off, being a very prime sailor and, going much better than we, got clear away into Brest. We then joined our consort, and repaired our rigging. Mr. Walker went on board the *Boscawen*, and had a private conference with the captain; but was never heard to throw any censure publicly on his behaviour. What was the result of the conference no one knew, but we were soon sensible that it produced no great effect.

In December following, about twelve o'clock at night, the wind blowing fresh and thick rainy weather, we fell in with two large French ships, and were close upon them before we perceived them. By being so near we heard the enemy in great confusion, knowing them by their language to be French; and, by the fear they seemed to be under, imagined them to be rich Martinico-men, homeward bound; and so far it happened true, the terror observed arising from a fear for their riches on board. Accordingly, all night we kept close pursuit, and so continued till eight o'clock next morning; when the weather somewhat clearing, we discovered them to be men-of-war, the one of seventy-four and the other of sixty-four guns. The *Boscawen* immediately went off; whereas had we stood together, he being the larger ship, it was more than probable from after circumstances that the enemy would have let us retire unmolested: but seeing the *Mars* alone, and so inferior a ship to them, a signal was given from the larger ship, for the one of sixty-four guns to chase. We then endeavoured as much as possible to keep a-head to get away; but the enemy gained upon us. When they came almost within musket shot, Mr. Walker thus addressed himself to us: "Gentlemen, I do not mean to be so rash as to attempt a regular engagement with so superior a force: all I ask of you is to confide in me and my orders, to get away if possible without striking; and be assured, I shall employ your assistance neither in revenge or vain glory, or longer than I think it of use to our design. The ship which

pursues is certainly the best sailor of the enemy, by being ordered to the chace : if by good fortune we bring down a top-mast or yard, or hurt her rigging, so as to retard her pursuit, we may intirely get clear." He then ordered our colours to be hoisted, and stern guns to be fired. The enemy at the same time hoisted his, and fired his bow-chace : which did us no damage except in our rigging.

Thus we continued the fight for upwards of two hours ; Mr. Walker having himself placed our best quarter gunners at the stern-chace, with directions for them to aim at the rigging. But tho' we made several successful shots, yet we had scarcely time allowed to give the stroke we wanted ; for tho' it is a received opinion that firing the stern guns helps a ship forwards in her sailing, yet if she be obliged to wind, or as the term is, yaw about,¹ to bring her guns to take aim, which was our case, it must stop her way for the time and retard the escape. This was certainly the consequence to us of our strong desire to repeat our fire at the enemy ; which made our running just a-head appear to them rather an artful way of engaging to avoid their broadsides, than a flying before them—which last in fact it was—and brought up also the other larger ship, which had still kept after in the pursuit ; and, by the above delay, had now so far gained upon us as almost to hem us in between them. In this situation they both run out their lower tier, whereupon Mr. Walker with a smile, said, "Well, gentlemen, we do not strike to one ship only," and ordered down the colours.

Tho' the usual ceremony and greater honour was to have gone aboard the commodore, yet Mr. Walker chose to surrender himself to the ship he fought : therefore, taking his proper officers with him, and giving some directions to those who were to follow, he ordered out his barge, and went aboard the sixty-four

¹ To wind is to bring the ship's head round in the opposite direction to her course : to yaw is to deviate to right or left from what should be her course.

gun ship, which was the *Florissant* [*Fleurion*], and the other of seventy-four guns, the *Neptune*. When he came on board, being conducted to the French commander, a man of seeming rank and figure, he delivered up to him his sword and commission ; but the reception on the part of the French officer to our great wonder was not answering the politeness expected from the nation in general ; the French captain, who spoke English well, asking him in an high tone : “ How dare you, Sir, in so small a ship, fire against a force like me ? ” To which Mr. Walker answered, “ Sir, if you’ll look at that commission you will find I had as good a right to fight as you ; and if my force had not been so inferior to yours I had shewn you more civil treatment on board my ship.” “ How many men have I killed of yours ? ” says the French officer. “ None at all, Sir,” replied Mr. Walker. “ Then, sir,” says he, “ you have killed six of mine and wounded several ; you fire pieces of glass.” Mr. Walker assured him of the contrary ; however, his treatment was little altered for the better ; but the officers took all opportunities of doing Mr. Walker and his officers several acts of civility. Mr. Walker and his lieutenants had, indeed, the liberty of the quarter-deck ; but no accommodation was as yet provided for his bed or table, distinct from the rest. In a few days the affair of the glass, which had given such offence, was thoroughly set to rights ; the mistake having happened from an Irish sailor, who had been fixed at one of the stern guns aboard the *Mars*. This honest tar, finding the ship under a necessity of striking, humorously took a parcel of shillings out of his pocket—about sixteen—and swearing that sooner than the French rascals should plunder him of all he had in the world, he would send it amongst them, and see what a bribe would do—wrapping it up in a piece of rag, rammed it into his gun, which was the last that was fired. This scattering thro’ the rigging over the heads of the men occasioned the foregoing supposition, which was thus set to rights, to the satisfaction of the whole ship.

It was on a Friday we went on board the *Florissant*.

At break of day, on the Sunday morning following, we saw four sail of large ships astern; which greatly alarmed the French, especially as their gaining ground upon us was every half hour more and more visible. This panic of the French arose, as before, from their concern for the great value of their cargo, bringing home all the French and Spanish treasure from the West Indies, to the amount of near four millions sterling; besides, their ships were in no order for fighting, coming so long a voyage; and they likewise were very sickly on board. In less than two hours we could plainly perceive the four ships astern to be English men-of-war. The French crowded all the sail they could, to get away. Whilst the English were in pursuit of us, the captain of the *Florissant*, who had by this time become more familiar with Mr. Walker, addressed himself to him to this effect, that if it had not been for the trouble Mr. Walker had given him, by obliging him to go out of his course, he might be now further on his way, out of the reach of the ships in view; and said that at the time he thought it ill-judged of his commodore to give the signal for chasing, considering his treasure on board; of which he made no secret. "It is seldom," says he, "any great accident happens from single causes, but by a chain or series of things. Thus, if we be here overcome, our loss will be owing to the waspishness, (as he called it) of a single frigate, which would not cease fighting so long as it had a sting in its tail." This being said, tho' peevishly, with some pleasantry, and being more compliment than otherwise, was received by us all with equal ease. We had certainly no reason to be out of temper, as the scene of fortune was now clearing up in our favour, for the English drew near. The ships were the *Hampton Court*, *Dreadnought*, *Sunderland*, and *Captain*. The French officer on board the *Mars* judiciously bore away to the leeward, in order to draw off one of the ships in pursuit of him. This had the intended effect, for His Majesty's ship the *Captain* sailed off in chase of him and retook him; but did not afterwards return to the fleet, so our ship the *Mars* was

brought back to England. The *Sunderland* lost her main-top-mast in coming up, by which she fell astern ; but the *Hampton Court*, of seventy guns, and *Dreadnought* of sixty, a little astern of her, came up alongside by sun-set.

As an engagement now appeared unavoidable on every side, the captain of the *Florissant*, again with great politeness, spoke to Mr. Walker and us to quit the quarter-deck, saying that he hoped we would excuse the necessity of things ; but as an engagement was expected, it was not usual to admit strangers on their decks. Mr. Walker answered, " Sir, I go off with great pleasure on the occasion ; as I am now certain of my liberty ; and I hope to have the satisfaction of seeing you again in being." We were then all conducted to the Cock-pit, where we discovered the sad situation of the ship indeed ; here being above one hundred and ninety of her people then lying sick, unable to stir, so that their confusion was very great. But no engagement beginning that evening Mr. Walker was very soon called up. All that night and the next day the French kept on their way, and the *Hampton Court*, and *Dreadnought* closely followed ; when, the second evening coming on, the English altogether disappeared. As this affair has already been settled under the sanction of a court-martial, we refer to that better examination of the cause of such proceedings.

During this time, the captain of the *Florissant* every now and then sent for one or more of us, to refresh ourselves in the air, by which opportunity the fears and terrors of the French, unprovided as they were for an engagement, could be distinguished at every new expectation of the English beginning to engage. But when no enemy appeared on the morning of the second day, nothing then but boasting of their superior courage to the English was to be heard, even from the captain himself, to the most inferior in the ship ; which could not be heard without some little indignation on our part, especially of Mr. Walker ; who was before so sure of his liberty, and underwent a very genteel memorandum [reminder] of it from the captain. How-

ever, as an inward approbation of themselves and country, in comparison with others, is very natural to all people, and more apparent in us than in any one country of the earth, we had nothing to be really offended at, the French in general behaving to us with great humanity and politeness, especially the captain, who now grew so fond of Mr. Walker's company that he would not dine without him and some one of his officers of Mr. Walker's own chusing. He even shared part of the state-cabin with him, where he had a bed brought in on purpose for his accomodation.

With these douceurs our time passed on more easy ; and giving up all views of any new deliverance, as we were now in sight of the French coast, we contented ourselves with the expectation of seeing Brest, the finest port in France ; to which we were bound and where we arrived in January, 1744-5.

CHAPTER VI

Mr. Walker's recovery of his own and officers' liberty at Brest ; and his return from thence to England

AS we came into the bay without the harbour of Brest, we met the French frigate whom we engaged in the *Mars*, coming out from being refitted. He had had his bowsprit dangerously wounded, so as to be almost carried away, and his starboard quarters stove in ; some men killed, but a great many wounded, whom we afterwards went to see in the hospital. He had reported, upon his engaging of us, that he had fought two English men-of-war of fifty guns and had got clear, one of them having sheered off. This kind of boasting we are sure to smile at in foreigners ; but seldom are so unfavourable to our own national glory to detect it in ourselves. It certainly is a kind of spirit constituent of the French genius : but as they are a people of great policy, it is so far allowable as they thereby stimulate one another to imitate such acts of valour, however they may be misrepresented.

The next morning Mr. Walker, fearing the distemper which began to grow violent amongst the French might be caught by our men, applied to the captain to have us set on shore immediately; which by his interest with him he effected by four o'clock in the evening. This was a great favour, it being Sunday. But it was with much greater difficulty, and as good providence, he persuaded his friend the captain, for so I may justly call him, to let him come with us; in which favour to himself he was long denied. "What is there," said the captain (for I was very near him), "that I have been deficient in as a gentleman, to render my accomodation not quite agreeable to you? Or what is there I can do to make it more so? Stay but till to-morrow, and I will take you with me to the governor, and introduce you to every man of consequence of the place. You shall be free; nothing shall break in upon your liberty but the prejudiced notion you have got of it in England." Mr. Walker urging, with many acknowledgments of his favours, that his sole desire of going proceeded from a duty of which he could not, even in opinion, divest himself, of seeing his men accomodated, "Well, then," says the French captain, "you shall not go till I write two lines by you to the governor," which giving Mr. Walker, and taking leave with the utmost politeness, we thought it an happiness to gain permission of setting foot on French ground, as prisoners, with our leader at our head. And here I could not help observing the power of self-recommendation, in the change of behaviour of a few days, between the first meeting of those gentlemen and the taking leave, a leave, as it happened, for ever.

Mr. Walker immediately proceeded to the governor of the town, who receiving the letter from the French captain, told him he was at his liberty on parole, and any one or two of his officers he chose for his companions. But Mr. Walker, who hoped his credentials were more unlimited, making answer, "Sir, if I have not my principal officers with me I can enjoy but little pleasure in the liberty you bestow me," he, with almost an obliging condescension, granted permission for his

having all his officers, to the number of ten, on Mr. Walker's parole, to go with him, where he pleased, into the town or country ; but not by themselves. I cannot help being particular in these circumstances, both as it was a great happiness we received and ought with gratitude to mention, and which every Englishman must with pleasure hear, but also, as it may help to remove the bad prejudices we generally entertain of all other countries but our own ; which have sometimes prevented our using them in like circumstances so well as we would do, did we think they deserved to be used as well as they do.

An universal rejoicing was made, and *Te Deum* ordered to be sung throughout the kingdom, on the arrival of these two important ships ; which had brought home the year's store of treasure. Amidst the joy we were also obliged to hear great boastings made among the men of their having offered battle to four large English men-of-war, who refused fighting them. But all this joy was too suddenly overcast.

Mr. Walker having procured his own and officers' liberty, and visited the common men in their prisons ; where he settled the manner of supplying them with necessaries and got them the best apartments in the place, now brought us all to a public house or inn to refresh himself and us with supper ; where he agreed with the cook at a rate exceeding the king's allowance, for a particular table for himself and us. The cook, who was also master of the house, with great alacrity agreed to provide every accomodation to make us easy ; and told us humourously, " he could make de good roat beef for us, and de good plumb pudding too." And he kept his word : for, to say the truth, there could not be a better table, or more reasonable, than he constantly provided.

The very next day, whilst Mr. Walker was writing, at our inn, to the French captain to beg him to send him his letter of credit, which was in a box with his commission, the people came running into the house, all in terror and lamentation, with cries that the *Florissant* had blown up ; and all the crew were destroyed with

her. Upon our running out we found the accident too true in fact, tho' not exactly related. The gunner having taken out the powder and gone ashore with it, had left in a private part of the magazine four barrels, for salutes as he said. The men, sweeping together the loose powder, which had been scattered from the starting of their cartridges into the casks, and handing down the glass lanthorn which hung in the gunroom, to the people in the magazine, the handle of it by some accident broke and the lamp fell out upon the floor among the loose powder, which taking fire and communicating itself to the four barrels blew up the whole after-part of the ship; in which was the aforesaid polite and good captain, with all the officers and most of the men. The fire afterwards catching the other part of the ship, burnt with great fury. This dismal accident we, tho' an enemy, with great sorrow and tender feeling beheld.

As the French are very expressive in all their motions—I would not be supposed to mean they are more tender in their passions—the scene was indeed very melancholy, each one of the croud particularly lamenting some friend or relation lost, at the moment they had prepared their welcome in their homes; and all in general condoling the common loss, and public calamity to their country. The men who were yet on board in the fore-part of the ship alive cried out for the assistance of boats, and called for mercy of their countrymen, friends, and relations; which, though it might have been easily afforded, was obliged to be denied by those very friends and kinsmen; the weeping spectators only of their sad distress. For the guns, which had not yet been discharged, every minute or two going off, as the fire reached them, made it dangerous to offer assistance; so that their own guns were presented against the breasts of those they called to their relief. Most of the men threw themselves at last into the sea, some few of whom were saved.

The ship having burnt to the water's edge, went down with all her treasure; having unloaded nothing save part of that burthen which was her greatest pain, and perished in the delivery. Among the many spectators,

Mr. Walker appeared to me not the least affected : to see the tears drop at the misfortune of his enemy, the man to whom by chance of war he, but a few days before, became a prisoner, and now lament him as a friend, made me reflect at the hard fate of war, which brings men together with swords directed at each other's breast, ignorant of the worth which either bosom may contain ; whereas, had happier opportunity placed them within the knowledge of each other, they had lived like beings of humanity, in tender estimation of their mutual merits.

By a thronged assistance of boats, for the ship was now gone down, several people were saved ; some wanting a limb, others worse torn in various parts of the body, who had caught hold of the first floating part of the wreck which accident had helped them to ; fond of preserving life, tho' mutilated of happiness, to be hereafter dragged over the earth in awkwardness and pain. Among the floating dead bodies, the captain's was easily discovered, tho' very much cut and burnt, and brought on shore, where it had every mark of honour and respect paid to its former owner, being laid out in great pomp of funeral state ; for the captain had been a man of rank and family.

When we returned to our inn, Mr. Walker found we bore a further part in the general loss. His letter of credit being burnt, he now wanted the means of his own and our maintenance. The good cook, indeed, equally civil, offered our support till Mr. Walker could receive an answer to his letters from England. But other things were required, which being necessary, the want of them would have rendered our stay in a strange country, without money, very disagreeable. He therefore thought it best to keep up his interest till his credit could arrive ; so in the first place he waited on the governor, to pay his compliments of condolance on the late fatal accident. The governor received him with his former politeness, at the same time assuring him he paid such deference to the recommendation of that good officer so lately and unfortunately gone, that everything in his power he would do to make him and

his whole company happy in their situation. And he was just to his word. The first respect shewn Mr. Walker, in consequence of this, was an invitation to attend as a mourner the funeral of the deceased captain, which was very grand and solemn. This introduced him to the notice of the principal men of the place; most of whom endeavoured to express proofs of their favour in invitations to their houses and other acts of civility; which again gave him an interest with many of them, and this again he employed in general to the service of his friends and countrymen; so that several gentlemen and others, whom Mr. Walker had knowledge of in England were, thro' his means and at his influence and request, set at liberty, to the amount of above sixty persons.

Among the French gentlemen who shewed these indulgences to Mr. Walker, the fiscal, who is the person that settles the cartel,¹ commenced a particular intimacy with him; which gave Mr. Walker the opportunity of asking him to put his and his officers' names in the cartel that was then filling up. This request, tho' with some reluctance, he at last yielded to; whereby Mr. Walker, whose turn for liberty with ours would not regularly have come round till near a twelve-month, procured the release of himself, his officers, and about sixty of his crew, as well as of some others, particularly one Mr. Coats, Captain Harman, and some other English gentlemen who had been passengers or traders.

I cannot help mentioning that among the prisoners for whom Mr. Walker at first got their liberty on parole was a peddling Jew, who, by making out a piteous story, introduced himself to his notice and compassion. Mr. Walker had unsuccessfully applied to many merchants there to be supplied with money for bills, who with all the politeness of the French, yet caution of their own country, refused him, all in the same story that credit would be very hard to be found, on account

¹ (a) the agreement relating to the exchange or ransom of prisoners, and (b) a ship commissioned in time of war to exchange prisoners between two hostile powers or to carry any special proposal from one to the other.

that the secretary to — lately in much the like circumstances, had freely found credit for his bills, and that every one of them had come back protested. Thus giddy men often think their bad actions end at the point where they lose sight of them ; but it is not so : the injury they do to those who intend better runs often too great a length by the prejudice and taints they leave in the minds of others. This Jew one day took the opportunity of pulling Mr. Walker by the sleeve, and telling him he knew his want of money ; but that he had a bar of gold and forty guineas secreted about him, at his service. These were sewed up in the waist-band of his breeches, which was perhaps the only part of his whole garb that had a regular stitch in it, so miserably was he accoutered in rags and patches. Thus was our generous commander, with all his dependants, relieved by the poor beggar who petitioned his humanity but a few days before ; which is a lesson to our doing all the good in general we can, as we do not know whence the reward will be, often from the hand least expected. Whether the bar of gold had force or virtue enough to break those of iron I will not take on me to speak ; all I shall say is that Mr. Walker, after paying the honest cook his bill, who I dare say was as sincere in his professions of sorrow to part with us as he was in those of joy at seeing our arrival, delivered us off from our state of nine weeks' bondage, like Moses's poor brick-making colony to the land of liberty ; and was he to have set up a new religion, I dare say the poor Jew would have changed his faith.

Our company, which were inlisted under the direction of Mr. Walker, were about seventy, besides those of the cartel, who were upwards of three hundred. Our journey was to Morlaix, and but two guineas amongst our party, which were in Mr. Walker's pocket, reserved for an addition to our accomodation at the halfway-house ; Morlaix being about thirty miles from Brest. When we reached Morlaix the next day, the first thing Mr. Walker did was to go see the cartel ship, as there was so great numbers to go in

her. She was one of the licensed vessels from Whitehaven, with tobacco, the owner of which had contracted to carry three hundred people. But Mr. Walker at first sight refused to go in her himself, or to let any of his people hazard themselves in her bottom, she being very old and unsafe, not above hundred and twenty tons, unable to hold one half of the number. And as the jail distemper was among the croud of prisoners, Mr. Walker on that account also was resolved not to risque himself or party in her; but seeing a little pleasure yacht lying on the shore, which had been run away with by some French prisoners who had made their escape in her from Plymouth, and finding upon inquiry she was to be sold, and being told the owner's name, a merchant of great note in the place, he resolved upon purchasing her. "Alas, sir," cries Captain Harman, "do you think of purchasing ships without a guinea in your pocket, as we all know the last went for the last night's supper? Rather, sir, set your invention to work how to get us a dinner."

"O," says Mr. Walker, "the first thing we must do after the purchase is to victual her, and then you may all dine aboard."

"Sir," replies Mr. Harman, "I fear we shall find a necessity for eating before then, as it may be a work of time before you make your purchase. And if you take us from the cartel, we shall all be struck off the king's allowance." "Well, then," says Mr. Walker, "if you think there is an absolute necessity for my first filling your bellies, let us go look at the signs of the town, and find out the best hearts in the place from the signals at their doors." We had not gone far in search of some visible signs of hospitality before we discovered the English Arms.

"There," says he, "is the flag of good entertainment; gentlemen, will you please dine with me at our countryman's?" We all crouded into the house and found the landlord was an Irishman, a circumstance which answered our expectation. "Countryman," says Mr. Walker, at the first salute, "do you bid me welcome? I am come to dine with you." The landlord, well

perceiving who we were, and having certainly a respect to the appearance of Mr. Walker, very politely answered, "Sir, I do." "I take you at your word," replied Mr. Walker, "for I am very hungry, and though no monster come to eat you up, yet have seventy mouths and we are as naked as to money as any beast of the forest. But to speak in plain terms, what I ask of you is to accomodate us whilst we stay, and take my bills." "Sir," says he, carrying his politeness still further, "I take your word ; yourself and some few I'll endeavour to make happy in my out-lodgings." I mention these particulars to show that if our countrymen, through bigotry, prejudice, or accident, settle amongst our enemies, yet they seldom lose their native honesty of heart to their fellow-country men ; but rather add to that the polite embellishments of outside address, learned from their neighbours.

Dinner being over and a chearful glass to our country, in which our landlord with much sincerity seemed to joins us, Mr. Walker took Captain Harman, Mr. Coats, and some others of us to the merchant, about the aforesaid purchase. A French gentleman, who was also in the house, and was informed of our intention, offered to go with us to introduce us. The merchant carried the French politeness yet farther than we had already seen it, by insisting to speak to us in English only, which was so bad and broken as scarce at first to be understood. However, he agreed to take Mr. Walker's bills for the yacht, and after serving us with wine and a collation of sweetmeats, "Pray, jantils-mans," says he, "can you know very well at Brest one Maister Vaker, what you calls his name ?" "Sir, this is the gentleman," says Captain Harman, pointing to Mr. Walker. "O, my dear sir," replies the French gentleman taking Mr. Walker in his arms, "me have de letter to pay you and all de good jantils-mans here, your officers, for your liberty ; me also have de commission for de lett're of credit for you, &c."

This interview and account were no doubt very acceptable, so that with all the merchant's broken English we never understood plain English better. Mr.

Walker's owners, Arthur Oldsworth, of Dartmouth, Esq., and others, knowing by the *Mars*, which was retaken and carried back to England and which they repurchased, in what part Mr. Walker was, immediately sent letters of credit to their friends at St. Maloes, who sent to this gentleman theirs of an unlimited credit to be forwarded to Mr. Walker at Brest, with directions to purchase his and any two of his officers' liberty whom he should choose, and to offer for them two prisoners for one.

I cannot help here making an observation on the French manners, before we take leave of their country, that though their complaisance on the first acquaintance appears to be the expression of a first-sighted friendship, for they never suppose ill of a character introduced to them, whereas the Englishman, who is as civil in the end, always withholds his till he is assured you deserve it, yet when they receive any more certain intelligence of the worth of their new acquaintance, they double that civility to a pitch almost inconceivable to those who have not tasted the growth of it, like their fruits, in its own country, for it certainly loses much in the transplanting. So this gentleman, from an easy politeness, which was before very engaging, took on him at once the endearing familiarity of a friend, insisted on our supping, lying, and in short living at his house whilst we stayed at Morlaix. And he certainly was in earnest, for though with great difficulty Mr. Walker got off that part of the invitation which he imagined might be most troublesome to him, that of lying at his house, yet he kept us to supper, and afterwards conducted us to the other entertainments, all of which were hospitable and elegant. Perhaps it may be said the complaisance paid to us was in respect to the letters of his correspondents at St. Maloes (I did not see them) or a policy to recommend the spirit of his country to our remembrance and report in our own. If so it was a public spirit. But make what excuse you will for politeness, it is in itself so humanely elegant and good, especially to strangers in a foreign country, and enemies, too, that, like virtue, it is intrinsic

in itself, let the motive from whence it comes be what it will.

Mr. Walker generously made use of this, his new-gotten credit to the general service of his friends. Every gentleman present or left behind at our inn took what particular sum he wanted, the yacht was paid for, other necessary money taken; and thus every man with money in his pocket, we returned to our King's Arms, where the poor Jew was paid his money and the golden wedge, and the generous landlord had ample reward and respect paid him in return, during our stay at Morlaix. The cartel ship set sail in four days, with her numbers packed like bale goods in her hold. Our stay in getting our new vessel fitted up was eight days, but how great was our opinion of French hospitality yet raised, after the former civility of the French merchant, to find it carried even beyond the limits of his own house. The yaul, as soon as ready, was found stored with wines of various kinds and the best sorts, sweet-meats, cakes, fresh provisions, eggs, fowls, hams, etc., more than sufficient for our number and voyage.

Whilst we were taking leave of this generous benefactor, with such expressions of thanks as were the best evidence of our gratitude, he slipped a letter of unlimited credit into Mr. Walker's hands, in case of our being put back into any port in France. We set sail from Morlaix, February 15, 1745. But the vessel, having lain some time in the sun, and her seams not having been properly or well caulked, a matter wherein the common workman's honesty did not equal their better's politeness, we struck over to the island Guernsey, the wind taking us short and the weather stormy. There, not being willing to spare time for repairing the faults of our yacht, Mr. Walker being at all times more apprehensive of the bottom of his ship than that of his men, he sold her at but one guinea loss. From thence we set sail in an English vessel, and arrived all safe and well at Weymouth, February 28th, and Mr. Walker went by land to Dartmouth, which he reached March the 2nd.

I believe every officer and gentleman paid Mr. Walker's services the thanks they owed him, in the mentioning of his name. I have had the pleasure to hear Mr. Walker say that every shilling he had advanced on his own credit to the various gentlemen and others at Morlaix was with honour and due punctuality returned to him.

I must not forget that at Guernsey we found on the strand the main top-mast of the *Victory* which was lost, with her mark and the name *Victory* on it. I mention this as I have very lately heard it doubted whether any proofs of her being wrecked had come on shore.

THE FIRST CRUISE OF THE *BOSCAWEN*

CHAPTER VII

The equipment of the Boscawen, private ship of war ; an attempt made to seduce the men, and the consequences thereof

MR. WALKER'S coming to Dartmouth so much sooner than was expected was an agreeable surprise to his owners, who, having re-purchased the *Mars*, were already fitting her out against his arrival for a new cruise with the *Boscawen* ; whose captain being accused by his own people of ill conduct in the engagement with the French frigate before-mentioned, and now having brought in his ship before the time of her cruise was finished, had altogether so incurred their displeasure as to be discarded from any further command. Mr. Walker, as he thought the *Mars*, though a fine and stout ship, a slow sailor, now made choice of the *Boscawen*, and the command of the *Mars* was given to Mr. John Bowden, who had been Mr. Walker's first lieutenant. The *Boscawen* had been a French man-of-war, and the first we took from the enemy in the last war, called the *Medea*, taken by Captain Boscawen, now admiral. She was a prime sailor of beautiful construction ; one hundred and fifteen feet in her keel, and thirty-eight feet in her beam, mounted originally twenty-eight guns, nine pounders, but was altered by Mr. Walker to thirty guns, twelve and nine pounders upon one deck, having on board three hundred and fourteen men.

While she was fitting out, seamen flocked from all quarters to enter on board, but an accident happened here, which I have thought deserves a relation.

Some persons of Exeter, particularly Mr. Coats, brother to the gentlemen of the same name whom Mr. Walker had released from the French prison and brought with him to England, fitting out at the same time two private ships of war, the *Exeter* and the *George*, one of their captains, Mr. Tailor, finding what crouds of seamen flocked to Dartmouth, while they were in great want of men at Exeter, thought of a stratagem to bring over some of the *Boscawen's* men. Which was that of pretending his owners had a transport ship to send off with felons, some of whom he said had escaped from them and entered on board the *Boscawen*, and so he begged leave to search the ship under that colour, to take opportunity of seducing away our men. Mr. Walker immediately gave orders to his commanding officer for liberty to Mr. Tailor of going on board, declaring he meant no protection to such people. The artifice so far succeeded, but his power of bribing not going further than the opportunity of speaking to two or three of the men, these took some guineas from him, and promised to bring with them a greater number, having stipulated for the promised reward. Among these was one John Cabel, the principal. When Mr. Tailor had taken leave, as not finding any of the felons pretended to be inquired after, John Cabel appointed seventeen of the men, whom he picked out for his purpose, to meet him at a place of rendezvous. The gang being met, Cabel, who was a remarkable punster and the wit of the crew, addressed his comrades (the speech I had given me written by himself, nothing altered except some liberties we have taken in the spelling).

"Gentlemen, you know my name is Cabel, you'll say a good name for a sailor. Well, gentlemen, if you'll trust to this *cabel*, it shall be a *sheet cabel* of profit to you. There has been a *poor tailor* on board our noble captain's ship, endeavouring to *take measure* of our loyalty to the noble captain, that is, gentlemen, to *list* us in the service of one Mr. Coats. Now, my boys, to *suit* him in his own *cut*, suppose we *patch up* a kind of a scheme to be *paid for work* we shall never do, and then *sheer off*. I have got three guineas here, with

which we will to-night make merry, and then think upon it to-morrow."

This oration was received with an huzza of applause, and every man followed his leader. At the spending the money, when inspired by the goodness of the ale, they devised a scheme to go to Mr. Tailor at Exeter, every hand to take his money, and then bring off most of the men already inlisted with him, to compleat the number then still wanted for the *Boscawen*, "for which we shall again," says the politic Cabel, "be rewarded by our worthy masters at home." The remainder of the money carried them all to Exeter, where having so far put their scheme in execution as to receive the money for entering, three guineas each man, a countryman of the place who saw them enter and heard Captain Tailor brag of his artifice, coming to Dartmouth, immediately acquainted Mr. Walker with this circumstance. He calling a muster of his men, and finding the number missing, was justly enraged at the low cunning of Mr. Tailor, and sent off an officer and party of men with directions, for the present only, to see whether they were his men, and to send an express of it to him. Which coming the next morning with a confirmation that they were, Mr. Walker immediately went post to Exeter, and took his surgeon with him, in case of any accident happening amongst the men, which might want his assistance. But the renowned Cabel and his men, having from the party sent before, got some intelligence of Mr. Walker's coming, planted themselves to meet him, about a mile from the city, where they stopped the chaise and gave him three cheers, when Mr. Cabel, stepping foremost, began a speech :

"Noble Sir, we hope you do not doubt our honour ; we are true, Sir, and that you shall see if you let us alone a little to ourselves ; you shall see we will man you out immediately, with all the best men on board the *Exeter*. Do, sir, trust to my management. By G—— we are men of strict honour, but we love money and a joke, the two best things in the world next to a whore and fighting."

Mr. Walker seeing some humour and confidence in

the fellow's manner of expression, could not tell what to make of the whole, but ordered them to meet him at the Swan, where he would set up. On his way thither, though under no necessity of being beholden for a man of theirs to fit out his own ship, it being pretty near completed as to numbers, yet he considered that as his proprietors were equipping the *Mars* and *Dartmouth*, which wanted men, and were in every other respect almost ready for the sea, he would, if possible, bring off what men he could, in order to requite the very ungentle treatment he had received from Mr. Tailor. When he came to his inn he met there his officers and former gang, who acquainted him that his men were really honest to him, but had been aboard the other ships lying at Topsham, where they had received both money and clothes, and that they could, if he pleased, bring away most of the whole crew. Before Mr. Walker had well refreshed himself, the seventeen men also came up, but being met by Mr. Coats's clerk, a French gentleman, who also had got notice of Mr. Walker's arrival at the rendezvous, were very passionately accosted by him, and ordered to get to their ship. As for Mr. Tailor, he never once appeared. "Get you away, you rascals," says the French clerk, "you shall all be taken prisoners in de country here, if you do not go on board to your own quarters in de ship." By this time Mr. Walker having signified his consent to his officer and he again giving the men a hint, a single wink had been enough, like a word to the wise, away they in seeming duty sped on board.

Mr. Walker, seeing this new kind of claim to his men so audaciously set up even in his presence, could not help growing angry, though he for a time permitted it, and upon inquiry, finding the French petit-commandant to be clerk to Mr. Coats, he sent a message to Mr. Coats that he would be glad to speak with him. Mr. Coats immediately desired his company at his house, where he at the first interview expressed great obligations for the favour Mr. Walker had shewn his brother, repeating the circumstance we have already

mentioned. But Mr. Walker, who had his breast full of other business to be settled, answered he had no compliments to pay in return, and would receive none from him, and then set forth his complaints of Mr. Tailor's behaviour. Mr. Coats assured him of his ignorance of the matter, as a business entirely left to the officer they trusted to. "Yes, sir," replies Mr. Walker, "but if your officer has made a wrong step, you and the other owners must abide the consequences." Mr. Coats then offered him his own men back.

"No, sir," says Mr. Walker again, "'tis the affront done my ship, in the seduction of my men, that I am angry at. I'll not have a man returned me through compulsion, but my officer here shall, with your leave, go on board with a single guinea, and as many as will follow that, to drink my health, I will never part with." Leave being given and taken on all sides, the officer was sent aboard, but Mr. Walker soon after had information given him that some of the proprietors, or some acting person under them, had first sent a round of two guineas more to each man of the seventeen; and their own men insisting on the like, they gave them also the same, being in number upwards of an hundred men. This, no doubt, gave Mr. Walker fresh uneasiness, as he now began to fear for the steadiness of his men. And though he had the power of outbidding any price, yet considering the less a victory costs the greater it is, he resolved to wait the issue.

To be short, Mr. Walker's officer went on board, threw down the guinea; three huzzas were sent round the ship, to *Walker and the "Boscawen" for ever*, and a compleat hundred men, including the seventeen, followed him out of the ship. Mr. Walker, getting notice that all the men were coming ashore, hastened to them and met them just landed, and instead of conducting them, was himself by them conducted to the place of rendezvous, with a sufficient compliment of huzzas through crowds of spectators, who, all inquisitive of the cause, were soon instructed so as to form a right judgment of the matter, by the industrious explanations of the victorious Cabel and his crew.

Towards evening, a gentleman of the town, who was some civil officer, and the same French clerk, came to Mr. Walker and insisted, in the proprietors' names, on Mr. Walker's sending back their men, that on refusal the army, as there then was a regiment in the town, should be sent for to force him. This language little prevailed on a gentleman whose method it was, as he said, when he drew his sword, to throw away the scabbard, and that his resolution was to stand by the men who would do so by him; that all who could fight their way he could carry off, the rest they might keep. He then immediately gave orders, as there was a wood adjacent, that every man should cut down a good sappling, which, as he said he supposed they could give the army no commission to fire, would be a weapon easier managed than the butt end of a musket. This order was with great expedition complied with, and some who were Hercules in zeal provided themselves with clubs greater than their abilities could wield. Mr. Walker soon got them back again in order into an out-house in the inn to supper, where the guinea was first drank in form, which was the only money they would admit to be spent on them, every man having guineas of his own in his pocket. Here they provided themselves with fiddles and other diversions of the night; at the relation of which I could venture, as an entertainment again for the reader, if it did not deviate from the business of the story.

Mr. Walker sat up in the house all night in case of any disturbance or surprise, and having in the meantime secured all the hack horses in the town, against morning, to the number of about seventy, he, after breakfast, about eight o'clock, led off the men regularly by the boatswain's call, and went himself into his post-chaise at the end of the town, where he had ordered it with the horses, the men mounting themselves to the best advantage. They who first could get on a horse and ride off were happiest, sometimes two got but one horse between them, and sometimes a third contended for a third share; and they who could not get any share of his back laid claim to his tail. But

here it was immediately necessary for Mr. Walker, in common humanity to horseflesh, to give a new order, counter to the preceding one of the evening before, that each man should throw away his club of defence, and take to him in its place a switch of expedition, else certainly they would have knocked down one half of their horses, or broke their bones, ere half their journey had been performed. Which order also, by dismounting many a cavalier, gave a new chance to all parties stowing themselves more regularly upon the decks.

Never sure was officer attended with better hearts, as Mr. Walker was at this time by his sailors turned cavalry, all of whom, except his own party and a few who stayed with him, through the desire of their horses, or badness of their riding, flew forward in a cloud of dust, like a kind of marine Hussars, so that the post-chaise and four horses, though going at its usual course, after the rate of ten knots an hour, dropped astern. This great expedition, besides the natural love of making use of a fair wind, which is their opinion of jockeyship, as long as the beast has a breath of wind under them, was meant chiefly as a compliment to Mr. Walker, to get dinner ready against his coming to the inn, at which they intended to bait, and whither a small party, by order of Cabel, had been dispatched with provisions over night, trusting to the inn for some additions.

They of the most elegant taste among them having laid their heads together to consult the gentility of the table, as it was their good luck to find it market day, set him down, his lieutenant, surgeon, and the landlady at the end of the table in good hospitality to a leg of pork and cabbage at the head, a boiled buttock of beef and carrots at the foot, a boiled leg of mutton and turnips on one side, a roasted shoulder and potatoes on the other, and a pease-pudding in the middle. At the top of the second course was a hind quarter of lamb boiled with spinnach, and three or four loins broiled in chops heaped around it, a sirloin of beef roasted at the bottom; apple-pie on one side, apple-dumplings on the other, and a huge plum pudding in the middle. As

this was meant a general treat, happy was the jack (as they would all wait and shew their service) who could give their captain a glass of wine, though the most of them as yet knew him only by the report of their fellows, which is a surer character to them than a certificate from the lords of the admiralty. And as the humour could not be prevented, Mr. Walker entered into it with a spirit that kept up his own character, and yet gained their esteem of his affability. Of which, notwithstanding their own roughness, they are as good judges as any people in the world, and can as well distinguish an exactness of command from severity.

But to return to the table. Mr. Walker, after drinking some general toasts, which were constantly attended with three cheers in the place of music, and making them many offers of wine, etc., in return to their hearty invitation, all which through downright liberality of soul were refused, at last thought of a present of which they accepted as a very necessary one, though yet unthought of, that of a dinner to each of their horses; so ordering half a peck to each horse, the whole company were all at one time happy in good entertainment, according to the sign-post, for man and horse.

Among the obligations Mr. Walker owed to his men, I cannot forget one favour asked of them, and which was in their turn strictly observed, to a wonder you will say, and that was, that no man should get drunk, but come to their proprietors sober. I have dwelled upon these particulars I hope not too long, to shew that an evenness of command will generally guide these kind of men to a strict observance of orders, which happy art of directing has been the great characteristic of the gentleman we speak of, and proved his own and men's deliverance in the course of his command more than once.

The time of departing being come, the cavalcade set out anew. Mr. Walker and some invalids in that part to which nature has appointed the office of giving rest to all other parts of the body, bringing up the rear, the whole corps arrived safe before night, at Dartmouth, without one desertion, without one man's being in

liquor, without one accident, except some tumbles over the forecastle of the horse, or a slip or two off the stern.

We must end this chapter with observing that ever after this accident, Mr. Cabel had great deference and respect paid him among the crew, for his judgment and sagacity, and he made a good sailor and brave fellow, till like some other great men, he fell at last a real prey to gold; of which in its place. And thus the *Boscawen* was at once fitted out with a number of picked men for the ensuing cruise, in which, as they were all deserving sharers, so we may say that each contributed to its success.

CHAPTER VIII

The first cruise of the Boscawen private ship of war ; her taking the Martinico fleet, and her return to Bristol

THE *Boscawen* being ready for the sea, Mr. Walker chose not to wait either for the *Mars* or *Dartmouth*; and accordingly on April the 19th, 1745, we sailed from Dartmouth, perhaps the most compleat privateer ever sent from England.

Among the several amendments and alterations contrived in her by Mr. Walker, for the convenience of engaging and other matters, I cannot help taking notice of one which might be of infinite service in general, as particularly instrumental to our success. This was an entire new construction of our quarters; as they were here raised with elm, in the place of nettings,¹ man-high and small-shot proof, with a step below for the marines to mount on and fire, and then stand off again to load. By this means the ship was always ready for an engagement, and could not be surprised; whereas, the business in other ships of fitting up their hammocks throws the men into an hurry, whilst the time thereby taken up could be better used in other dispositions of affairs too much hastened over,

¹ A kind of fence of rope network, stretched along the upper part of a ship's quarter and secured by rails and stanchions, in which the hammocks were stowed.



The *Boscawen* and the *Sheerness* engaging the French ships from Martinico, 1745.

From Boydell's engraving of the painting by Charles Brooking.

ALFARTHING LANE,
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if not too often neglected. I have heard an objection made at home to this contrivance, which lest it may be again started, I will answer that the large shot may tear the planks to pieces, and the splinters hurt the men worse than the small shot could do. The elm yields to the large balls, which leave an hole so small (the elm swelling back to its place) as scarce afterwards to be believed the passage of the ball, without ever splintering. This Mr. Walker first proved before he set them up; but I speak from a further knowledge of seeing them experienced.

May the 23d, in the evening, we fell in with the *Sheerness* private ship-of-war, Captain Parnell, of twenty-two guns, who kept us company for the night. By break of day the next morning, in latitude forty-six and forty-seven, longitude fourteen and fifty west from the Lizard, we made eight sail of ships, to which we gave chase; and we going much better than the *Sheerness*, left her so far behind that she could not so much as come up to us, or be of any assistance during the ensuing action. About nine o'clock the enemy formed a line, and waited our coming up; we then drawing nearer, saw they were all ships of force, and though on our side everything was prepared for engaging, yet I believe, not a man in the ship thought of coming to one, the *Sheerness* being quite astern. Mr. Walker, then perhaps perceiving some suspense among his officers, as waiting his determination, delivered himself to us, nearly in these words: "Gentlemen, I hope you do not think the number of prizes before us too many. Be assured by their being armed they have something on board them worth defending, for I take them to be merchantmen with letters of marque, and homeward-bound. Without doubt we shall meet with some opposition, in which I have not the least doubt of your courage; but I see we must here conquer also by a mastership of skill. Be cool, and recollect every man his best senses, for as we shall be pressed on all sides, let every man do his best in engaging the enemy he sees before him, and then one side need not fear or take thought for the other. In a word, gentlemen, if you

give me your voice for my leading you on, I pawn my life to you, I will bring you off victorious." Being seconded by a spirit of approbation throughout the whole ship, which could not but elevate his own courage, he then made the proper disposition of his officers, giving them strict orders that let them receive what fire they might from the other ships, they should not fire a single gun, till he gave the word. So bore up directly to the larger ship of the enemy (which, by her throwing out signals to the others, he judged to be the commodore) well knowing that nothing promised him success so much as attacking close.

I forgot to mention that notwithstanding the shortness of the time since we left England, we had upwards of sixty of our men on the sick list. These, all except three, crawled up upon deck, and though of little service, yet would they at least behold the action.

As we were coming up to the enemy with all our sails set, the whole number of ships kept firing their stern-chase at us, by which we lost our mizen-top-mast, and had our rigging much shattered. When we came up to the sternmost ship, we received her broadside and those of the two ships next to her, as we passed them, without returning a single gun, making up to the commodore in the centre. And now, about eleven o'clock, getting close to him, we began the engagement, pouring our broadside full into him. This was as fully returned, he having a stout ship of twenty-four guns. They then broke their line of battle, and attacked us, two on each side, and one athwart our forefoot. The sternmost ship of the line, *La Victoire*, which was the smallest, of ten guns, also came under our stern, and poured her broadside into us by way of raking us, but being injured by our stern guns, she ran out of our reach, and struck.

Thus was the engagement carried on by five ships only, the two which were most a-head, going off; and in this situation was continued against us for a full hour, firing our broadsides from each side at once, upon the two on each quarter, and they theirs as warmly into us, our bow-chase also keeping the one athwart

our fore-foot in good play. We also kept a perpetual firing of our small arms. Yet was this engagement, in which several accidents happened to us chiefly in our rigging, sustained on our part without confusion or disorder throughout the whole. Every man went on with his own business, in his own department, and the word of command was observed with a regularity almost inconceivable, through the disposition first made by Mr. Walker, in fixing every man to his proper station, with distinct orders to each part of the ship. Nor was there one man or officer behaved amiss, either in courage or obeying commands ; nor, indeed, did any one seem to excel another in either, the whole appearing rather a business conducted, than an accident of fighting.

In about three quarters of an hour from our first engaging, we perceived the Commodore's ship greatly disabled, for we planted our greatest fire against him, all his masts and rigging being intirely carried away. At length, his ship having received several shots under water, he fell back from under our cannon, and struck. The engagement was still continued by the rest. In less than ten minutes after striking, the ship went down. Here was a new scene, of persons floating in the sea on various parts of the wreck, which they who could attain, thought themselves happiest in distress, as fortunate to lay hold of. This a while suspended the fight. We then and then only were in an hurry to hasten our assistance of the barge, for the boats were intirely shot away, but we were soon convinced that it was out of our power so soon to commence friends ; for the four other ships seeing our ship also so much hurt in her rigging, it being almost torn to pieces, renewed their attack with greater fury ; so that we were obliged to return to business, whilst the poor floaters in the sea were otherwise unassisted, except only by the boat of the *La Victoire* ; which was immediately hoisted out to them, and took up about twenty-six of the people, saved on the loose yards and other pieces of the wreck. This new attack lasted very hot on both sides for near half an hour, the one making the onset as the last effort for their liberty, and we knowing, if we stood the

shock, our victory would be acknowledged complete. At last one of the ships, being totally disabled, struck and then the rest followed as fast as they could, one after another, all in shattered plight, each of them having behaved with great courage and equal resolution.

By this time the *Sheerness* came up, and seeing the work over, judiciously went in pursuit of the other two ships, who first made sail at the beginning of the engagement. One of which she took and brought back ; the other got off.

The ships which struck to us, besides the one taken by the *Sheerness*, were, as we at first supposed, all homeward-bound Martinico-men, each having a letter of marque, and being a ship of force, viz. :—

		Guns	Men
<i>Duke de Guienne</i>	Captain L'Estourier	18	65
<i>La Victoire</i>	Captain Brulle	10	38
<i>Le Bell Louis</i>	Captain Fromentin	14	43
<i>St. Andrees</i>	Captain Gautier	18	54
<i>L'Abraham</i>	Captain Berthome	14	46
<i>La Jeune Marié</i>	Commodore, sunk	24	84

The enemy had one hundred and thirteen men killed and lost, fifty-eight of whom were on board the Commodore, and fifty-five amongst the other ships. On our side was but one man killed, and seven wounded, apparently owing to the construction of our quarters, as spoke of before. However, we and the whole fleet were so disabled that we were obliged to lie to for forty-eight hours before we could make any sail upon our ship or those of the enemy. And now we had but few or none sick men, they having been roused in the course of the action into health, which proves what I have before occasionally observed, the great power the spirits have in cures of the body.

Among the people who were saved from the wreck was the Commodore himself and, which was very remarkable, an old lady, a person of some distinction, and who was a passenger from Martinico, [who was] floating at some distance on a bag of cotton, which had been put up in the nettings, and is supposed to have

got loose. When the captains and other French officers were coming on board our ship, it was told Mr. Walker that the Commodore had been taken up from the wreck, at which he expressed great joy ; and when he came on board, Mr. Walker took him by the hand, and without waiting for further ceremony, led him into his cabin. Here was a scene opened which required the exercise of his own natural humanity, and the imitation also of the politeness he himself had met with from the French, when in the like situation. Such is the great change of things ! The prisoner of yesterday may be the master of to-day. And such in general is the happy consequences of generous actions, that though the first giver may not always see their effect, yet if we trace them forward, we shall seldom find they die, but return their produce to some other hand.

The old lady was now brought into the cabin, in great dishabille of dress. She at once threw herself at Mr. Walker's feet, and wept there in great agonies, fearing she was to be treated as cruelly on board the English ship as she had been by them in her own, till raised by him, and assured of her present safety, of which she seemed to be more convinced by his countenance and address to her, than by his words. She cries out : " And, O good heavens ! Is this bloody conqueror a man of humanity ? " In mentioning so particularly the gentleness of the French to us, when in their power, I imagined it might be so far useful and agreeable as it informed the readers of the manners and policy of another country, in a situation of superiority, to those below them ; but I have several reasons to pass over in silence many passages of politeness and generosity between Mr. Walker and his prisoners : first, as my relating them will be little instructions to my countrymen, who do not suspect any want of humanity among themselves ; secondly, as I do not apprehend my work will be translated into any of the neighbouring languages, it will be no information to strangers ; and lastly, I know Mr. Walker is prepared to quarrel with me whenever I say a word that seems to throw any compliment

on himself. I will say only that Mr. Walker having given the Commodore a new suit of his clothes, with other necessary equipments, and the old lady a silk nightgown, some fine linen waistcoats, cambric night-caps, etc., in which she appeared a kind of Hermaphrodite in dress, left them for full twenty hours solely in possession of his cabin and state room, giving them his steward as a servant to produce everything under his care, needed for their accomodation. He himself was the whole time busied in refitting our rigging and those of the other ships, securing the prisoners, as also in taking care of our wounded men, in which office he always superintended, three of whom afterwards died, and in providing for the sick and wounded of the enemy.

Upon his return, Mr. Walker found his prisoners seemingly happy and in spirits, nor did he appear there to have more command than the rest, unless in taking on him a greater direction to have all things prepared for the whole company in the best manner, having always all the captains and super-cargoes at dinner at his table. Thus, in a few hours, no people could be to all intents in appearance more in good humour than the present company, even to a degree of mirth. Mr. Walker had two French horns and other music on board, which he was very fond of, but ordered them not to play, as he apprehended any shew of mirth in him might look like an inattention to their misfortunes. But the old gentlewoman, who took great pleasure in going about the ship, and commending among other things particularly the neatness of our men and ship in comparison to those of the French, seeing them hang up in the steerage, insisted on their accompanying the dinner, as usual, and even joined the flutes with her voice in singing. In which art, we may say, she was a great mistress by nature.

I have often considered the etymology of the French word for unhappiness ; they call it *malheur*, or the evil hour, which denotes their consideration of it in a light of philosophy ; and is an over-conforming to the Christian doctrine, as they herein imply that " sufficient

unto the hour is the evil thereof." I have heard it said that this their ease under misfortunes is in them a respect only for the company present. If so, it speaks yet greater to their politeness than anything has been said for it, or any other instance can be given. And as I did not mean to carry this compliment of their tempers to an insensibility of mind, if the reader will lend attention, we will give, from the words of the old lady, her story, which she in a few days' acquaintance told, with very feeling strokes of grief in the utterance :

THE STORY OF MADAM —

I will not entertain you, Sir, with the relation of my birth, family, or the many circumstances of my love that brought me to the character of a wife. Let it suffice, I virtuously loved the best and most generous of men : but my husband and self, being each of the younger branches of noble families, disobliged our friends on both sides by our marrying. He had been bred up early in the army, and having there gained some rank, was soon obliged to leave me, to obey the call of honour to his country ; flattering himself that by his success there he should better his fortune for our happier days : as we always affix happiness to the acquisition of wealth. But, in the famous battle with your countrymen at Blenheim, having received an hurt, he was taken prisoner, and died among your people of his wounds. He left me with child ; yet, thro' the excess of my affection to him, I deprived myself of the happiness of having any living remembrance of him brought to perfection ; for I miscarried of a son at the end of eight months, thro' a fatigue of travelling to him, and the distress of my mind in hearing of the great danger he then was in ; fearing lest he had not a just care taken of him among his enemies. He did not die thro' any want in that respect ; for I reached him some weeks before his death ; when he gave me assurance of the great generosity of the English in the care of their prisoners. He died within my arms ;

and in respect to my presence, and his own distinction, the English buried him with the honours of a soldier.

Thus, in about nine months after our marriage, I was left a widow ; and tho' my fortune was not sufficient to intitle me to any great choice of husbands ; yet I often further disobliged my own relations in not submitting myself a second time to be disposed of according to their judgment of happiness ; and I continue his widow to this day. Some months after my return home, a decent and genteel woman came to my house, desiring to speak to me ; who, when admitted, introduced in her hand, to my great agony and surprise, an infant apparition of my deceased husband. The poor woman had no design in it, but came only to inquire about the certainty of his death. At last, by my taking such notice of the child, she confessed to me to have had formerly an amour with my husband : which was satisfactorily proved to me to have been previous even to his first protestations of love to me, by the advanced age of the dear little one, who was about five years old. Upon hearing all the circumstances of the woman's story, and finding her to be justly intitled to the appellation of gentlewoman ; and, as I am no very fashionable condemner of my own sex, believing her to have been virtuous and affectionate to him ; I could not help sympathizing in the loss of the object of both our affections.

In short, I immediately laid hold of the boy as my own, and have often smiled at myself in the remembrance, absolutely imagining I had a right in him, and such a right, as I dare say, I then would have disputed with half my fortune. But I found the conditions of having him were easy, if I provided also for the mother, which I did by immediately taking them both into my family. The child soon learned to look upon me as its better mother ; and the real one, from my kindness to him, soon began to believe that my claim to him was greater than her own ; and she to her death lived with me as an agreeable companion and trusty assistant in all my family affairs.

'Tis certain, heaven has given us happiness even in

our cares and business : which by a just search of it in them we are sure of finding out. It was so in my care of this infant ; for as he grew, I found a pleasing sensation in the duty I thought I therein discharged, to the remembrance of my deceased husband. But I should appear to indulge too much the nature of a mother, if I went on to tell you how happily that care was repaid in the promising genius my boy soon discovered, and all the accomplishments he with ease to himself gained in his education. For I made no secret of him to the world, but introduced him to all my friends and relations as my adopted son, and as such I had him respected. Not but I was sensible I often stood the censure of my relations, and even the ridicule of my acquaintance behind my back, for my conduct. However, as the disreputation of his birth was a circumstance that could not be wiped easily from him, and as I very early took care to cross every inclination in him to the army, for I was determined not to risque my love a second time therein, I resolved to bring him up to a negotiator (or merchant) ; and having considerably increased my little fortune in the Mississippi,¹ just before he was out of his time, his master offered him a partnership in his business, provided I would deposit a proper advance with him, and he go settle in the West Indies, to take on him the management of their affairs in that part of the world.

As I was almost weary of my own country, and it was an offer too advantageous for him to be refused by me, every matter was transacted for his advantage, and he set out his own master, possessed at once of a good fortune and a large business, with his two mothers for the West-Indies. We were not long arrived in that country before he received letters from his partner, beseeching his return to marry his only daughter, who, having been in love with him, and taken so ill on his departure, was obliged to make this discovery to her parents for the safety of her life. I found the letter

¹ Many fortunes were made—and lost—in John Law's Mississippi scheme of 1720, the French equivalent to our South Sea Bubble.

was a very agreeable surprise to him, and as I was the mother whose consent he thought himself the most bound to ask, he quickly obtained my leave for his going back ; the young lady being well known to and approved of by me during my intimacy in the family. In less than five months he returned to us with his wife, and a large addition to his fortune ; and ever since has increased in reputation and wealth, to the great esteem of the whole place, and my no little pride in his prosperity. The good-mother is since dead. I sincerely loved her and often, in considering my regard for her, have thought that the passions which we imagine natives of our constitution, are frequently learned from custom ; thus in our Christian education, women hate each other for loving the same man ; whereas in the Mahometan they look on each other as thereby united in relationship, and, as having the same parent, commence sisters in mutual regard.

My son's family soon increased in a number of beautiful children ; among which I took a particular love to one, a girl whose beauty and endowments of mind made me see her with pleasure the object of universal esteem. (Here she broke off. " O ! my dear filia ! " says she in an heroic agony, " as the gods owed one Venus to the sea " for so this lively matron expressed herself, " know, my poor mortal has paid that present back." After a full discharge of tears, which again eased her breast, she went on.)

My son's partner dying a few years ago, and his whole fortune, which is very considerable, coming to my son in right of his wife, he was obliged to hasten to Europe ; which he did just before the beginning of the war, leaving his wife and us behind him till a fitter opportunity of our following him, or his returning to us. As his wife and myself grew impatient at his absence, and women's tempers not always well agreeing in the same house, I resolved to set out first for Europe, both as I wished to end my days in my own country, and, as her parents had intirely made over to me this young beauty, who was now near seventeen, I wished to educate her in France, and there to have

matched her to some person of distinction ; for I intended to have given her my whole fortune, which under my son's management is now very largely increased. But, alas ! how vain are our designs of futurity on earth ! how uncertain are serene days ! and what a mixture of misfortunes is dashed into the cup of happiness, even at our lips ! O, Sir, this dear creature lies buried now below us, by the cursed rage of man ; that devil of quarrel which stalks between them on this earth, from every petty strife up to war. And as for you, Sir (turning with great indignation to the French commodore), you ought, and perhaps may answer your rash persevering to engage with an enemy you saw so much your superior.

(The gentleman only smiled, shewing at the same time a consciousness of his having done his duty, and expressing a tender pity for his accuser. But Mr. Walker made answer, " Madam, that very conduct you accuse is what must intitle him to the love of every brave man, and to the notice of his country. 'Tis that bravery which obliges me to use him, you, and all, for his sake, with the respect such an enemy demands.")

This, Sir, (replies the very sensible and good lady), is only a man talking of the excellencies of his own trade : but when you hear me out, you will be, perhaps, less in love with the beauties of your profession. The morning we first saw you, a gladness seemed to reign in the whole ship, like that of savages at an inhuman banquet, and they used a like phrase, saying that you would not be a breakfast for them. But when I saw you pass the other ships, I said to the commodore, as I stood by him, for we expected to have seen the engagement begin with them, that you meant to be at him only. And when you came, like the breaking of a cloud, with a shock of lightning and thunder together, I hasted where I and my poor child were conducted to the place of safety. This was a more melancholy situation than the other was terrible. Hither they brought the poor bleeding sailors, one after another, without legs, without arms, roaring with their pains, and laid in heaps to be butchered anew by the surgeon, in

his haste and dispatch of cure or death. Here several of the objects died at our feet. Thus surrounded by the ghastly prospect, all at once death himself came breaking in upon us, thro' the side of the ship, cut down the surgeon and one of his mates, and shattered the whole medicine-chest in pieces. Here was a total suspension of all relief to the poor wounded wretches ; death coming, as it were, to reinforce his own orders, and stop every means or effort to prevent him. You may judge we soon left this place of grief and terror, as it grew also a place of danger.

When we came out on the decks, there we strode over heaps of dead bodies, or slipped in the streams of blood, our hearts dying within us at the prospect of this hideous scene of mangled limbs, scattered brains, and every external sign of horror. Thus we wandered from place to place, calling on our saints, and passed unhurt thro' all the assaults of death, in which we saw numbers on every side of us. At last, we heard an uproar, still more dreadful, and dismal cry transmitted along the ship : " She'll sink ! Strike ! Strike ! " This confusion never ceased ; so that tho' your guns, I suppose, were silent, we never missed their sound ; for now our inward war grew more and more distracting, and a worse terror possessed the face of every man we met. We were soon informed we must, in our turn, prepare for instant death. Here my dear Maria indulged me with her last embrace ; and clasped in each other's arms we reached the higher deck. I remember her asking for the boat, and a sailor answering if we would save ourselves it must be by wings. And so she did ; for she has winged her flight to heaven.

I know nothing after this, nor how we were separated, nor, when the ship sunk, how I grasped at my deliverance : but my dear Maria, I never saw more. And tho' I believe I soon came to my senses on the float, yet that was rising to a life worse than death. In vain I searched round for my lovely fair one : but saw her not. Yet, as I saw many float with myself on pieces of the wreck, and taken up, I hoped (for hope still attends us even on a wreck in the open sea) that

my dear Maria was among the number. But, alas ! she is not.

Here her tears and silence infected the whole company. At last Mr. Walker, taking on him to mention the signal acts of providence in her safety ; which, if it had pleased could have equally preserved both as one, she with great ease, which we may call great good sense, was soon cheered, and renewed her speech only to make this genteel conclusion, that, as her story had found so many friends in the company, and been so affecting to them she would in her turn endeavour to promote in mirth the happiness of the company, to make amends for the pain she had given it.

Tho' we made shift to repair in some measure the damage we had sustained ; we were still in a shattered condition ; as was the whole fleet, except the *La Victoire*. Having a great charge of prisoners, and being, moreover, weakened by manning the other ships, Mr. Walker steered for the first port in England and, May 30th, arrived safe with all the prizes, in King's Road, Bristol.

The second day after his arrival, he received a congratulatory letter from the Lords of the Admiralty by their secretary, Mr. Corbet (for he always corresponded with their lordships, as all private ships of war are directed to do) desiring, that if he met with any papers in those prizes which might give light into the proceedings or designs of the French at Martinico, he would immediately send the same to them by express ; which was strictly obeyed, there having been found a large parcel of very great consequence. By which papers also Mr. Walker, having been apprised that another large fleet was soon to sail from Martinico and St. Domingo, he made all possible haste to repair ; so that he was intirely employed both in person and thoughts on refitting for a second expedition. However fortune, like other ladies of character, does not yield to us in every thing, although she may for a lucky moment smile upon us.

A sufficient number of hands being kept for this

purpose, the rest of the men, raised by their success and great fortune to an height of natural spirits beyond what any artificial ones could give, swarmed over the city in revellings of joy and pleasure. Tho' many things were committed out of rule, yet by good luck and some advice, no disagreeable accident happened to them, or by them to others. The leisure-time Mr. Walker could get from the business of his ship was given in compliment to the old gentlewoman, the French commodore, and others. And herein he was so apt a scholar that we may say he outdid, in his country, the French generosity he had met with in theirs. In the first place, not the least article of money, utensils, or cloaths, was taken from any of the officers or men. The French commodore, indeed, was naked; and what was worse, so was the lady. But Mr. Walker supplied him with money, suits of cloaths, and all other corresponding necessaries, at his landing; he also obtained for him his liberty, and that of all the officers and supercargoes of the fleet. As for the facetious old lady, she exercised her taste, at the same expence, in modelling the great docility of the Bristol milliners and mantua-makers, in the polite cuts and misshapes of the French fashions, in which she apprehended she had done great services to the country. And as she was desirous of going much abroad, Mr. Walker hired her a coach to attend on her the whole time during her stay, as her own. Being obliged to go to London, he requested the favour of using her coach as far as Bath, and to have the honour of staying a week with her there, that he might shew the place to her, the commodore, and another of the captains. The rest of the French gentlemen had leave afterwards of going by themselves.

The morning Mr. Walker and his company set out, they were most divertingly and unexpectedly overtaken on the road by a new kind of cavalcade of the honest tars, who having heard that their captain was going to Bath with the French lady, were determined every one to shew it to their ladies also, as every one who had not a lady of his own, had bought or borrowed one for the time; and thinking it a compliment to him to

set out on the same day, they were resolved to make the genteeler figure on the occasion. The generous-hearted jacks, knowing that ribbands are a great part of the state shew of a lord mayor's day, in graceful knots and roses on the manes and tails of the horses, were led by the like desire of gentility to the purchase (for the expence was the least article considered) of all the variety of colours, tied up in streamers, that might have passed for the strings of so many rainbows, or in knotted roses to adorn their triumph. These, when brought home, most of their ladies fell in love with; so that the number was increased, and equally disposed of on the necks and rumps of the horses, and in the hats and on the breasts of the ladies. Besides these, all the men had similar cockades for themselves.

Never, sure, were horses, whores, and ribbands so dear in one day at Bristol! They who got coaches were, no doubt in their own thoughts, set out the most genteel, whereas they were most the caricatures of gentility; whilst those who flaunted in open chaises exhibited a more loose and easy picture, tho' they run the greatest risque of breaking their necks. The waggons and their horses, adorned with boughs, ribbands and bells, trotted on in the gayest dress of all, and seemed most happy in themselves. Some few appeared, like straggling attendants of the procession, on horseback; and he who would not be thought without a mistress, took her behind him. But they who could get neither coach, chaise, nor waggon, going in search of something with wheels, and finding some brewer's trundles (which thro' policy or good nature were not refused them, as otherwise they would perhaps have been piratically borrowed for the occasion) sawed a butt or large hogshead into two; and nailing it down to the trundle, with a board across for a seat, set out as much in pomp as their fellows, and more in character of a triumphal car; obliged to the ready invention and contrivance peculiar to their species for this their happy equipment. Besides having an equal ornament of parti-coloured streamers properly disposed, these machines, of which there were at least twenty, were

decorated with an additional fancy of an ensign or jack, set up on the head of the foremost horse, a pennant on a pole erected on the foremost part of the trundle, and colours, hung out by the like contrivance on a sloping one, at the stern ; which made them of an amphibious kind, or a mixture of land and water carriage. I hope my reader will not imagine I exaggerate or add any circumstances by way of making out a tale ; upon my word I do not. The many living witnesses to all these particulars could easily disprove any false fact which might appear in the performance ; but the number of incidents and catastrophes are so numerous and interesting, thro' the whole, that the story tells itself ; and runs on, like a tongue with an easy talent of speaking, without waiting for much assistance from invention or judgment. This new invention bore much the greatest applause, and made the most corresponding and gay figure of the whole triumph.

In this pomp and order, tho' with a little more swiftness than is usually agreed to, in the like processions of a lord mayor, or lord keeper on the first days of term, the several retinues ran by Mr. Walker's company, to the great pleasure and delight particularly of the old lady, who was very sedulous in returning the compliments of salutation, as they huzzaed and passed. "No wonder," says she to Mr. Walker, "your country, with this spirited liberty, beats the world at sea." The French commander was less satisfied at the remark, taking this cavalcade as a kind of triumph before him, and refused going into the town with them ; but was assured by Mr. Walker of his own ignorance of the whole affair, and that the moment the men got to the town they would of themselves instantly disperse, and he never see one of them ; that it was only a whim put into execution in their droll manner of doing things, which always afforded mirth, even to themselves, at their awkwardness in imitating any customs upon land : in which, as in their last sort of equipages, they could not help mixing their own sea manners even in their common expressions ; being a people of a distinct

nature in themselves, for the most part divest of common knowledge of things on shore.

“If then, that be the case,” says he, “and so long as it is the case, you will always be masters in men at sea. Now our sailors are at sea just what yours are at land; beings not properly acting in their own element; and therefore awkward in their manners, as endeavouring, on the contrary of yours, to make those of the land submit to the uses of the sea. In which we run a danger, where you, on the other hand, are diverted.”

Their stay at Bath, where the French lady and officers expressed great pleasure and satisfaction, could not be long; Mr. Walker's compliments going farther than any entertainment this gay place could give, he, having thro' his interest gained all their names to be put in a cartel, in less than two months from their first arrival. Their turn was now to go, and he himself was obliged to take leave of them at Bath, as his business hurried him to London. But not a circumstance was forgot which might attend as a convenience on their stay, even to their departure, and after: as to provisions, wine, &c., being sent them on board. The commodore, all the officers of the fleet, supercargoes, and passengers went, all by the same interest, together. Mr. Walker gave the commodore two letters, one for the merchant at Morlaix, and the other for the governor at Brest, recommending to them the bravery of the gentleman who was the bearer; and he had the pleasure soon after to see his name set to a command in the king's service. Both he and the lady expressed an additional distress in their common loss, being deprived of the means of making Mr. Walker a return for his civilities: she indeed offered him a draught on her son in France, which he refused; but she wrote him from Bristol, full of acknowledgments and promises of gratitude to a generosity she wished she had never known. Which, without doubt, had she lived, would have corresponded with her other proofs of sense and spirit. But Mr. Walker has been some little time ago informed that immediately after she had seen her adopted son, she

was taken ill, without having had time before her death to make her will in his favour, her then present one being made to her beloved Maria ; and that her relations have sued him to an account which he is well able to pay, having, thro' the use of her fortune, amassed two very respectable estates in Europe and the West Indies.

THE SECOND CRUISE OF THE BOSCAWEN

CHAPTER IX

Her taking a French snow ; the mutiny of the men on taking a Dutch vessel ; her putting in to Madeira, and stay there

AFTER the departure of our French company from Bath, Mr. Walker fell ill of a fever there. Mr. Holdsworth went to him and staid with him till his recovery so far as to be able to be brought down by four men in a chair ; his time for going to London being elapsed and his presence every hour needed at Bristol. From thence, after a most expeditious refitting of new masts, yards, and other materials, we set sail July the 26th, 1745, with the same officers and crew ; except our first lieutenant, Mr. Brooks, who was son to one of the lords of the regency at Hamburgh, an acquaintance of Mr. Walker's, and had been, the first moment Mr. Walker took the command of a cruising ship, sent under him by his father to sea. This gentleman, on the news of our success in the last signal engagement, and on Mr. Walker's writing to his father in his favour, as he was a young man of the greatest courage and merit, was called home, and immediately promoted to the command of a sixty-gun ship against the Turks.

I must run the risque of some little censure in first setting out with a superstitious story, as ominous to the misfortune of the cruise, not that in myself I feel my own mind under the tyranny of superstition, however I may have a proper deference to the good authorities of others. But without supposing belief at all to interfere, the mentioning of it here is necessary, as it pro-

duced a new subject which requires to be distinctly treated.

There had been a report made by the French officers, when this ship was first taken, that a gunner's wife had been murdered on board. Whether this story was known to some of the men, and so promulgated among the rest, Mr. Walker could say that so far from mentioning it himself, he never once seemed to think of it. But one of the men, remarkable for his sobriety and good character, one night alarmed the ship; declaring that he had seen a strange appearance of a woman, describing her dress and figure, who informed him, among some other particulars, that the ship would be lost. Mr. Walker took all the pains imaginable to suppress such a notion, seeing it too much prevailed on the spirits of his men; but the opinion had taken root, and he found it a more serious matter than he at first imagined: so strong is any previous impression received in the mind, planting itself against all the efforts and regular attacks of reason! He called the man into his cabin, who to the last persisted in his story; but with his usual civility and sense, as he was perhaps a man of all the rest the most remarkable for those qualities, he promised not to repeat it. Had the man raised up a thousand spectres, acquainting them with the falls of kingdoms and of kings, it had been treated with unconcern; but the prediction of their own misfortune, so near at hand, made a deep impression on the courage of the boldest. The fellow came again seriously and privately to Mr. Walker, and declared that a second time he had conversed with her. And a third time, he called out, in seeming agonies to some of his shipmates, that he then saw and heard her. These were enemies for Mr. Walker to deal with, which he had not yet found among the living, for now a total languor infected all the common men, and even some of the officers, and two more of the men, in their scared imaginations, were ready to make oath of their seeing her at different times, and gave accounts shocking in circumstances. Mr. Walker could not conceive it to be any scheme or contrived tale to draw off the affec-

tions of the men ; or debilitate their courage. Nor did punishment appear a proper means of suppressing the opinions of the mind ; but still there was a necessity for some cure.

It may, perhaps, be still thought a matter of small consequence to mention, but they who are conversant with men under a command know that a despondence often runs thro' a whole set of them from a trifling cause, and is generally attended with consequences very dangerous to a commander. Enthusiasm itself, indeed, is a spectre of the brain ; but, being more a spirit of life, it raises and actuates men to bold and glorious actions ; for the greatest deeds which emblazon history, from the first date of time to the present day, have been achieved by this spirit alone. If enthusiasm, which is the highest region of superstition, will inspire to such acts of heroism, to what remissness of action will despondency, which is its lowest abyss, enervate and clog the mental powers, for these two degrees rise and fall from the smallest turns or changes of things ! Like other mechanic spirits in the tube, affected by every alteration of the air, the smallest accident may influence the greatest designs, and carry them up to prosperity, fame, and sun-shine ; or lower them to adversity and nipping frosts, in which not a bud of glory can put forth or flourish. In what an uncertain region then does a commander move, who acts in this sphere of praise and popular approbation ! 'Tis, therefore wrong in those who judge of their actions at a distance, not to allow sometimes the greatest accidents of success or misfortune to be consequences often of the smallest cause. I speak but as to the general ; for as Mr. Walker has never been under public censure as an officer, all I mean to advance is that the foregoing relation, tho' it may appear a subject fit only for a nursery (according to the diabolical custom of frightening children to sleep), was a matter of more moment at the time and afterwards than can be, without sensible consideration, at first imagined. And I must also take care to excuse myself as a writer ; hoping the reader will not think, because I am beginning a tragical scene, that I endeavour to

imitate the tragic authors, who write only to the passions, by introducing a ghost.

Mr. Walker, therefore, in his then circumstances, put this affair on such a footing as if some others had contrived this apparition to strike the conceptions of all such fools as would believe it ; and he promised a reward to any who would discover the inventors of such an ill-timed plot of diversion. Finding this begin to answer his expectation, he thought it the season to apply the cure, and gave money to two of the most trusty and intelligent of the common men he could pitch upon to take on them, by some well-planned story, to bring the rest into an opinion that they were the drest-up phantom ; and they accordingly underwent a very severe censure, in words only, for such their imprudence. This had a better effect than any other means of argument ; and it found also a readier belief from a story he to this purpose told us very *apropos*, of having himself seen an apparition, which from there appearing probability in its circumstances of being real, and proving in the end a cheat, shewed the general foundation of such pretences.

As we had nothing material between the first day of our cruise, and the twenty-second of August, I shall, with the leave of some of my readers, fill up the space with the relation of Mr. Walker's story ; especially as there may be a lesson drawn from it. Those who think it an intrusion on the subject may very readily pass it over.

In the midst of June, 1734, Mr. Walker lying at an anchor at Cadiz, in his ship the *Elizabeth*, a gentleman of Ireland, whose name was Burnet, was then on board, going to take his passage over to Ireland. This gentleman was a particular acquaintance of Mr. Walker's, and he was extremely fond of him, being a man of great good sense and very lively in conversation. The night before the affair which we speak of happened, the subject turned upon apparitions of deceased friends, in which this gentleman seemed much to believe, and told many strange stories as authorities for them, besides giving some metaphysical arguments, chiefly

that the natural fear we had of them proved the soul's confession of them. But Mr. Walker, who was intirely of another way of thinking, treating all his arguments with ridicule, Mr. Burnet, who was bred a physician, was curious to try how far fancy might be wrought on in an unbeliever, and resolved to prove the power of this natural fear over the senses : a strange way, you will say, to convince the mind by attacking the imagination ; or, if it was curiosity to see the operations of fear work on fancy, it was too nice an experiment to anatomize a friend's mind for information only. But perhaps the humour of the thought was the greatest motive ; for he was a man of a gay temper, and frolicsome.

About noon, as they were standing with more of the ship's company upon deck, near the fore-castle, looking at some of the governor's guard-boats making fast to a buoy of a ship in the bay, in order to watch the money, that it might not be carried out of the country, Mr. Burnet proposed, as a plan for a wager, he being a remarkable good swimmer, to leap off the gunnel of the ship and dive all the way quite under water, from the ship to the boats at that distance, and so rise up just upon them, to startle the people at watch in them. A wager being laid, he undrest, jumped off, and dived intirely out of sight. Everybody crouded forwards, keeping their eyes at the distance where he was expected to come up : but he never rising to their expectation, and the time running past their hopes of ever seeing him more, it was justly concluded he was drowned, and everybody was in the greatest pain and concern ; especially those, who by laying the wager, thought themselves in some measure accessory to his death. But he, by skilful diving, having turned the other way behind the ship, and being also very active, got up by the quarter-ladder in at the cabin window, whilst everybody was busy and in confusion, at the forward part of the ship ; then concealing himself the remaining part of the day in a closet in the state-room, wrapped himself up in a linen night-gown of Mr. Walker's.

Evening coming on, the whole ship's company being

very melancholy at the accident, Mr. Walker retired with a friend or two to his cabin, where, in their conversation, they often lamented the sad accident and loss of their friend and dear companion, speaking of every merit he had when living, which is the unenvied praise generally given to our friends when they can receive nothing else from us. The supposed dead man remained still quiet, and heard more good things said to his memory than perhaps he would else have ever in his lifetime heard spoken to his face. As soon as it was night Mr. Walker's company left him ; and he being low in spirits went to bed ; where lying, still pensive on the late loss of his companion and friend, and the moon shining direct thro' the windows, he perceived the folding doors of the closet to open ; and, looking stedfast towards them, saw something which could not fail startling him, as he imagined it a representation of an human figure. But recalling his better senses, he was fond to perswade himself it was only the workings of his disturbed fancy, and turned away his eyes. However, they soon again returned in search of the object ; and seeing it now plainly advance upon him, in a slow and constant step, he recognized the image of his departed friend. He has not been ashamed to own he felt terrors which shook him to the inmost soul. The mate, who lay in the steerage at the back of the cabin, divided only by a bulk-head, was not yet abed ; and hearing Mr. Walker challenge, with a loud and alarmed voice, "What are you ?" ran into him with a candle, and meeting Mr. Burnet in the linen gown, down drops the mate without so much as an ejaculation. Mr. Burnet, now beginning himself to be afraid, runs for a bottle of smelling spirits he knew lay in the window, and applied them to the nose and temples of the swooning mate. Mr. Walker, seeing the ghost so very alert and good-natured, began to recover from his own apprehension, when Mr. Burnet cried out to him, " Sir, I must ask your pardon. I fear I have carried the jest too far. I swam round and came in at the cabin window. I meant, Sir, to prove to you the natural awe the bravest man must be under at such appearances, and have, I hope, convinced you in

yourself." "Sir," says Mr. Walker, glad of being awakened from a terrible dream and belief of his friend's death, "you have given me a living instance of them; there needs no better proof. But pray take care you do not bring death amongst us in earnest." He then lent his aid in the recovery of the poor mate, who, as he retrieved his senses, still relapsed at the sight of Mr. Burnet; so that Mr. Walker was obliged to make him intirely disappear, and go call others to his assistance; which took up some considerable time in doing; everybody, as Mr. Burnet advanced to them, being more or less surprised. But they were called to by him, and told the manner of the cheat, and then they were by degrees convinced of his reality; tho' every one was before thoroughly satisfied of his death.

I being persuaded that this story carries a lesson in it, which speaks itself, shall conclude it by mentioning this circumstance, that the poor mate never rightly recovered his senses from that hour. Nature had received too great a shock, by which reason was flung from her seat, and could never regain it afterwards: a constant stupidity hung around him, and he could never be brought to look direct at Mr. Burnet afterwards, tho' he was as brave a man as ever went, in all his senses, to face death by daylight.

This story being circulated through the several degrees of men in the ship, its circumstances seconded the now prevailing opinion in most of the people that the other story was also an invention contrived thro' a frolic, or for other purposes. But the prejudice afterwards again fatally prevailed; however, it was allayed for the present.

August the 22d, we gave chase to a snow, the *Catharina*, laden with wine and flour from Bayonne, bound to Martinico, which struck to our first gun. She proved a very acceptable prize, as we may say we were here our own agents; for we were in want both of her wine and flour. Taking out a sufficiency of both to answer our occasions, Mr. Walker afterwards sent her into Madeira, where he intended to follow.

September the first, seeing a sail, we gave chase, and

next day came up with her. She was the *Fortune* snow from Orantaver, bound for Hamburgh. And here a new catastrophe happened. This was a sort of infant mutiny in the ship, not from any disgust to the command or service, but thro' the covetousness of the men, setting themselves up as judges in the condemnation of her as a prize. The case was, she had a large sum of money on board, and the master shewing some backwardness to produce his bills of lading, occasioned a suspicion at first of her being French property. Whereupon Mr. Walker had her thoroughly examined; and having to his full satisfaction found that her cargo, which consisted of two hundred pipes and thirteen half-pipes of wine, and ninety-six bags of money, was for the proper account and risque of Ractic and Zacharias Rigter, merchants in Hamburgh, he dismissed her. This was a step very ill relished by most in the ship; and it was insisted upon in their private conferences afterwards, that she was a lawful prize, and consequently they had a right to, and ought to have detained her. However this murmuring did not reach Mr. Walker's ears till it had gathered itself into a torrent of dissatisfaction. Whilst he was at supper, Mr. Kennedy, one of the lieutenants, came running in with an account that the crew was in a mutiny. Mr. Walker and his officers near him immediately arming themselves, rushed upon deck, where he found them assembled, not indeed in arms, but in a mutinous manner, demanding a parley in relation to his having dismissed the late capture. Mr. Walker insisted that this was not the way to ask one; that he was willing even the meanest man in the ship should be satisfied of his conduct; but then he would take care himself to give that satisfaction; and would not be called to an account for it by them. He was, he said, still more sorry, it should be ever said of him that he was obliged to take up arms against his own people in defence of that conduct which could be so easily supported by words only: that it would be a pain to him to reflect on it, as long as he lived; and a blot on the character he imagined he had gained: that, in the first place, he would not enter into particulars with

them, whilst assembled in a manner so like a mutiny. Nevertheless, he was desirous of explaining to them the nature of their right over Dutch vessels, as it might be for their general information and ease (for in all probability they would meet many of them in those seas), but that it should be at a time when he pleased to call them together ; for as they now stood assembled, they stood in opposition to him, and that every man who did not instantly separate to his duty, when he gave the word, he would treat as associates in a mutiny.

Two of the men, viz. Charles Eaton and Michael Morgan, crying out that then it would be too late, as the chace would be out of sight, Mr. Walker demanded the others to bring them in irons to him, in token of their obedience, and sent two of his officers to see it put in execution. This was obeyed. He then ordered them all to their duties till the morning, at which time he would come himself, and give them the satisfaction he promised. They accordingly dispersed and as strict watch was kept the whole night, nothing of disturbance happened, except that two others endeavouring to unloose their messmates, were laid hold of, and being also put in irons, were all removed up to the quarter-deck. In the morning Mr. Walker bringing in his hand the treaty of 1674,¹ relating to neutral ships, and the liberty allowed them to trade with our enemies, read it himself to them ; and had several copies of the particular articles dispersed amongst them, which, by his direction had been for this purpose transcribed over night. And, as many of the officers themselves were of the same way of thinking with the men, he then explained to the whole that as she had no contraband goods on board, he had certainly no right to detain her, by the treaty. And as to her having any French property on board, it is most

¹ This was the Marine Treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, London, 1674. The chief stipulations were :—trade was not to be interrupted by one party on account of war with the allies of the other ; all goods (except contraband, i.e. munitions of war) might be carried freely by the subjects of one party to the enemies of the other ; no injury or damage was to be done by ships of war or privateers of either side to any subjects of the other.

certain if that had been proved, they had a right to seize an enemy's effects in the hands of a friend ; but that, even so, they had no right to detain the ship without being subject to all charges to the Dutchmen for demurrage and other losses which might accrue to other parts of the cargo : for tho' we had a right to take it, she had a right to carry it ; as the treaty does not hinder her from carrying French property if she pleased, provided it was not contraband ; else why should the treaty distinguish what shall be deemed contraband, and what otherways ? That therefore it would be very impolitic in them to stop or detain any vessels, even supposing part of the cargo to be French property, unless such part were sufficient to defray all the expenses they might thereby bring on their owners, as aforesaid. That king's ships, indeed, tho' as yet they had given few examples of the kind, might, at all events, attack and break such secret trade of their enemies ; as the country might find an advantage in paying large damages to one nation for the sake of distressing another : but they had their owners' advantage to consider, who had but private pockets ; and that he thought it more honourable in them to return home without a prize, than to bring only such mock ones as these ; which, besides the injury done to private property, might prove rather a loss and expence to their owners than a profit or advantage ; and which would be reasonably deducted from any after-prizes they might fortunately make, as charges on the profits of the cruise. He said, he knew there were some gentlemen who looked upon the circumstance of having any French property on board as significant, under the meaning of the treaty, to condemn ship and cargo, at least, the latter, without any damages for detention or otherways, being recovered on the part of the Dutch ; that he allowed treaties to be instruments made use of, according to the circumstances of the times and place ; but that, for his part, he was resolved to be guided in his conduct by the plain reason of things, and did not set up for giving occasional meanings to matters of such import.

This argument had the wished respect paid to it : it was sensibly understood by most of the better sort,

whom the more ignorant followed in assent ; as they who only follow, are led with more ease (as in the herd and bird kinds), by a call or known note among themselves, than the most intelligent speech of reason in an officer or superior. It had also the further desired effect in our future examinations of all such ships ; for from the journals I can collect many things of the like kind which came under our scrutiny and inspection. In all which examinations the greatest exactness was observed, to avoid giving the least umbrage or offence, so far as always sending our own boat for the master and commander ; as it was an easier and readier office to us than them, and the last question was always asked by Mr. Walker himself at departing, whether they had received any injury or damage from any of the men ? This proceeding, I know, will be by some esteemed judicious, by others triflingly cautious. I mean but to relate it, not to set it out for praise.

The 28th, the island of Madeira bore S.S.W., and there we went in to water. On our arrival we found the prize *Catharina* not disposed of, so Mr. Walker purchased her for a tender on the *Boscawen*, she having been proved to be a fine sailor, and gave the command to Mr. John Kennedy, the second lieutenant, calling her the *George*. Here we put on shore the French prisoners, and delivered the four mutineers to the consul, to be put on board one of His Majesty's ships, which should first come to the island. And here, again, eleven of the men committed a disturbance, by an affront done to the major part of a whole congregation at their service of Mass, and indeed to the religion of the place ; for seeing the people, as they came out of the chapel, dip their hands in a fount of holy water, and sprinkle themselves and faces with the liquid, one of them, pretending to dip in the fount, very ridiculously let fall some soot into it, which he had got concealed in his hand. This, instead of making the ablutions appear white as angels, darkened them as black as devils. One part of the congregation thought it a prodigy, and said their prayers the faster ; others laughed at their fellows, whilst theirselves were of as good a complexion for ridicule. But the men, stay-

ing too long to enjoy the joke, were detected, apprehended, and imprisoned.

This was a new perplexity to Mr. Walker, it appearing almost impossible for him to obtain their liberty. He applied to the consul, who was destitute of all power of giving advice. He at length asked the consul to invite about a dozen of the principal priests and gentlemen of the place to an entertainment on board ; and this was, on all sides, complied with. The entertainment was as elegant as all the delicacies of the country, a fine band of musick, which to them was the highest part of it, and all the variety of wines on board and out of the prize, could afford. At a proper time Mr. Walker took occasion of mentioning the rash and inconsiderate act of his common sailors, and representing to them the loss it would be to His Majesty's service to detain his men at this juncture ; that the act was committed thro' an intire ignorance of the nature of the ceremony, only as a merriment on the crowd, not as an affront to religion, or irreverence of what they did not understand ; and he promised them that if they would immediately send him his men, he would, upon his honour, make the chapel a present of a pair of silver branches, or wrought candlesticks, to the value of five hundred *mill-reas* or about 140*l.* sterling, out of the first prize his ship and men should take. This offer was as politely, in recommendation, seconded by many of the company, and his men were sent to him that evening. Mr. Walker at the same time sent back presents of several sorts of wine to many of the priests and gentlemen.

A circumstance happened in the course of the entertainment which gave him an opportunity, if he had pleased, of recovering his men by an artifice on the weak understanding of the priests then present. Having a large flint vial of spirit of vitriol in his cabin, he told the priests he wondered the water, after gaining an holiness from their hands, could be subject to receive a stain, or any contamination whatever ; 'that he had a blessed water on board which would not. And so producing the vial and pouring the seeming water into a bason, he threw bits of dirt and soot, and pieces of rags into it

before them. The spirit immediately devoured them all (tearing the parts so fine as not to be observed) to the great wonder of the priests, as a supposed miracle ; so that they would have gladly accepted this blessed water in exchange of all the prisoners. But as he found the former proposal of a present had already worked a miracle (which it seldom fails of doing), and being above taking an advantage by imposing on their ignorance, he discovered the reality to them, the whole company smiling at the easy trade of imposture.

CHAPTER X

The Boscawen's departure from Madeira ; her meeting the Duke of Bedford privateer, and separation from her in a storm ; the accidents she met with ; the continuance of the storm, and her entire loss

OCTOBER the 5th, the *Boscawen* took her departure with the *George* tender from Madeira, and cruised off the western isles till November the 12th, in which time they chased several ships, which proved to be either Dutch or English. In the night of the twenty-first, she lost the company of the tender, which did not answer her lights. In the morning the *Boscawen* shortened sail, and went under double reefed top-sails till six o'clock, when, having gained no sight of the *George*, she immediately made all the sail she could carry and gave the tender chase. But during the whole day seeing nothing of that vessel, she made the best of her way to get into her station, where she, in a constant course of ill-luck, examined several ships, none of which happened any ways to belong to an enemy.

November 2nd, she gave chase to a large ship, which, upon coming up with her, proved to be the *Duke of Bedford* privateer, belonging to Bristol, which had been out nine weeks also without success, save that of having escaped from an hundred sail of French merchant ships in the bay, under convoy of seven men of war, whom she fell in with. Thus we were convinced the French had changed their manner of coming home by

keeping always in whole fleets and under convoy, never trusting any considerable cargoes in single or straggling ships. Mr. Walker and the captain of the *Bedford* then agreed to keep company. The second day after sailing in consort very hard gales of wind arose, and a great swell from the south; the wind S.S.W., which carried away the main top-mast. The ensuing days the swell still continued, but the wind somewhat abated, but on the 12th, the wind again blew hard, the weather was cloudy, and there was much rain, which laid us under our vallanced mizens.¹ And here, we may say, the *Boscawen* received her fatal blow, for in handing or making fast the main sail, though orders had been given to chain the yard before the people went up, yet the boatswain had neglected it, the strap of the geer block, by which the yard hung,² gave way, and the main yard fell down, having above sixty people on it, with the greatest violence on the gunnel of the ship, clearing all before it. And although the starboard yard arm fell so far a-peek into the sea as to be a great part in the water, yet not a man was hurt nor drowned. The ship certainly received some injury in her joints by the accident, for she very soon after grew leaky, which was the inlet to all our future misfortunes in her, that ended in her entire loss.

The *Duke of Bedford* privateer was alongside when this accident happened, but the violence of the storm not allowing her to give any assistance, she was obliged, in order to provide for herself, to leave the *Boscawen* and they never saw each other afterwards.

¹ That is, balanced. To balance a sail, a term peculiar to the old lateen mizen and to boom mainsails, was to contract it into a smaller compass by folding up a portion. The lateen mizen yard was lowered a little, and a portion of the sail from the peak, or upper corner was rolled up and fastened to the yard, about one-fifth inward from the outer end towards the mast.

² The main yard was the longest and heaviest yard in the ship. The lower yards were hoisted and hung by strong tackles called geers (jeers) and the falls were rove through the jeer blocks. The strap (strop) of a block is the band of rope or iron passing round the block and holding it to its position. It was customary on going into action or other emergency, to secure the yard with chain in case the jeers carried away.

The second day after this separation, the storm still continuing, the ship sprung a leak in the larboard side of her forehold, and made so much water as to put them under a necessity of keeping two of her pumps continually going ; but by getting their cables from between decks, they found means to come at the leak, and stopped it for that day, but the storm coming on more and more terrible, and the swell also increasing, the ship now laboured hard, so that she soon began to work in all her lower parts as if she was loose, or had a joint in her keel, and would part asunder. In which state she now again made such a quantity of water that the carpenters were at a loss how to judge of the nature of her leaks, apprehending them to proceed from a general weakness of the whole ship in her original construction. We were at this time cruising off the western isles. Mr. Walker ordered the ship to bear away till she should come forty or fifty leagues westward of Scilly, where he intended to have finished the remaining part of his cruise. In which station they might, in case of more urgent accidents, be within twenty-four hours sail of Scilly or Kinsale ; but on the 17th, the water so greatly increasing in the hold as to alarm the whole ship, the lieutenants and officers signed a petition to Mr. Walker, setting forth the ill state of her, and requesting that for the preservation of their lives and her, he would entirely give over the cruise, and make the best of his way to England. Mr. Walker met them directly in the ward-room, in consultation thereupon. He told them that though they had not yet found the success expected, he hoped their want of business had not made them weary of the cruise before it was over, for though he agreed with them that the ship was not in a condition to keep the seas at so great a distance from home, yet, at the same time, he did not apprehend her to be in such imminent danger as to oblige them to give over the cruise. However, he said, he would be guided in all things by reason and facts, and desired every one to give their opinion without reserve.

Mr. Dottin, the first lieutenant, said he had very lately examined into the whole state of the ship, that her leaks

every minute grew worse, their rigging was spent, and their provision bad, which circumstances were alone the occasion of his becoming a petitioner with the rest. The carpenter made a report that he hourly expected some butts or planks to start; the heads of the nails being all eaten away with rust, and the planks not so well trinneled,¹ as our English ships in general are, and that, from her main hatch to her foremast, she was so weak, he would not insure her, notwithstanding their best pumping, to keep above water for twenty-four hours. Mr. Walker then consented to proceed for the first port in England, observing that his honour and duty to his owners obliged him to speak to every ship he saw in his way home; but, above everything, he recommended to them to use their best endeavours to animate and encourage the people, that their spirits might be kept up, and consequently be the better able to perform their duty, as therein not only all hopes of future success, but their present safety depended.

From this time to the 20th, the men kept willingly to the pumps. The ship had four pumps of the French construction,² which now were kept constantly employed, and which discharged a great deal more water, in equal time, than our common sort do, though not so much by the half as chain pumps, but they take less room. Therefore, for all common merchant ships, the French construction is by much the most preferable. But notwithstanding the great and incessant discharge of

¹ Treenails (pron. trennels) were long hard wood pins forced through tightly fitting holes and connecting the planks of a ship's side and bottom with her timbers. They hold securely when swelled with the water. In the case of the *Boscawen* the treenails would have been about an inch in diameter.

² Chain pumps, which the narrator admits threw more water than the French pumps, were at this time in use in the English navy (Falconer; Aubin). The latter (1736) says: "Elles jettent plus d'eau que les autres pompes et se maintiennent mieux, mais elles embarassent beaucoup le fond de cale, et font un bruit bien désagréable." The comparison is, therefore, between the common tube and box pump, used in small merchant ships, and the French pattern, of which a long description is given in Aubin (*Dictionnaire de Marine*). †

these pumps, the water all the time gained upon their labour, and the weather continued still very rough, so as to occasion the ship to work upon the waves with great difficulty. A languor now seemed to steal upon the limbs and senses of the men, and the symptoms of their former despondency began to appear. Every method was taken to invigorate them, but rising circumstances seemed to oppose themselves, at every effort, to all endeavours of that kind. For now, on the twentieth, the storm again increased, and by the great labour and working of the ship, the water rushed in at all her seams in her fore part, and several butts above water started, so that now the pumps with all their power were not sufficient to keep it under, but every other hand was obliged to be employed in baling, which threw up such large quantities of such a flood of water on the decks, that the scupper-holes, which were ten in number and very large, were not able to vent it with an equal discharge, and in this situation we continued for seven days longer.

Another speedy consultation was called about throwing the guns overboard, and six of the foremost were agreed on to be thrown over. Some advanced that bringing the guns backwards in the hold would raise the ship more out of the water forwards, but as her leakings were too low for that to be of any use, it was thought that the greater weight in her hold would make her labour still the harder, so they were without delay thrown over.

On this fatal dilemma one of another kind was formed among the people, as the only resource for their lives. This was no less than a conspiracy to seize on the small arms, and take the barge and yawl into their possession, and so leave the ship with the captain, officers and the rest of the crew, to the mercy of the seas. Horrid as this design was, yet as the prospect of preservation by any other means was impossible, it was a crime more to be pitied and prevented than formally condemned and punished, every man being desirous of quitting the ill-omened ship, which was now again believed to be destined to a watery fate. Mr. Walker, who, at all such

times feared his men would naturally fly to cabals, and their own directions, from labour and command, where death seemed the only end of both, had before placed his spies amongst them, and being informed of every movement, and among the rest of this, took occasion to order up some of his officers on the tops ; and disposing the rest in the forecastle and other places where the arms were lodged, they, on a signal given, seizing arms only for themselves, in a moment threw all the rest of the small arms and arm chests, all the pole-axes, crow's, shot and every weapon or instrument of offence, overboard.

By these means, without waiting for further arguments, the poor conspirators, astonished, perceived it out of their power to execute their design, which they were conscious was detected and at once prevented ; and, in the greatest agonies of surprise and fear, imagined Mr. Walker and his officers were now going to put into practice against them what had been by themselves intended against others. But Mr. Walker immediately, with great mildness, told them, he sincerely forgave them their foolish rashness, as he looked on it an effect rather of their fears than disobedience ; that if they would now exert their best strength and spirits, to pump and bale out the water, they in all probability would preserve themselves and him, but the moment they declined so doing, they must expect as sudden death in going to the bottom. If they did their utmost, he and his officers would never part from them, but if they refused their assistance to the general preservation, he had it in his power to provide separately for himself and officers, as they before so cowardly intended to have done for themselves. This being at once the doctrine and practice of humanity, so affected the poor fellows that many of them were seen to turn aside and weep, touched with a sense of the generous goodness of their preserver, or with remorse at their own intentions. They all then endeavoured, dispirited as they were, to give him three cheers of their love and gratitude, which were sent up in such broken and feeble sounds that Mr. Walker, on his part, could not help letting fall a token of his grief at the death of their usual vigour. He and his officers being solely armed, re-

moved next the barge and yawl, for their great security, from the booms,¹ and bringing them aft, lashed them one on each side of the quarters, where they were immediately under his own eye and command. Thus disappointed of all other means, which was the great enforcing argument, the men applied themselves to the pumps and their other duty with such unwearied diligence that they did all that could be expected from men in their condition.

From this time Mr. Walker never quitted the quarter-deck, nor once lay down for seven days, sleeping only as he stood, leaning on the barricade or rail of the quarterdeck, for the men watched every motion and every word. And had he disappeared a minute, it is believed the duty of the ship had stopped, the officers themselves, notwithstanding the frequent assurances of resolution given them by Mr. Walker, sometimes being as desponding as the men. But whatever the captain's own fears were, he never discovered them even to his officers, insisting to the last, he did not think the ship in any instant danger, so that such of them as gave a preference to his judgment over their own senses, a while grew more easy.

Mr. Walker had taken in at Madeira twelve quarter-casks of the best Malmsey wine, intended as presents for his friends. These he ordered regularly to be portioned out to them, under the inspection of his officers, which by its good body and soundness greatly kept up the natural strength and spirits of the men. It was thought proper to move two of the pumps forward to the hatchway, which being just under Mr. Walker, as he stood on the quarterdeck, you might see the men in their labour look up at him, as it were searching his countenance, and at every forced encouragement send up some blessing, often answering his seeming cheerfulness with not unmanly tears. Another circumstance added much to our calamity. All the casks, by the water rising so high in

¹ The boats were carried on the booms or spare spars in the waist of the ship. The position is clearly shown in the engraving by Boydell after Brooking (*The Capture of the Nympha*), reproduced in the plate facing p. 128.

the hold, rolled about, striking from side to side against the ceilings,¹ of the ship, that they were obliged to stave all such of them as they could reach, to the loss of most of their provision and water, and the men had no other sustenance except some cheese, than the wine and biscuit.

On the twenty-fourth, the storm grew still more violent than before, so as to have given business sufficient for the soundest ship, to have made her way to safety through it. She now worked forward, as it were upon joints, letting in vast springs of water at every motion, and groaning hard as she laboured on in the storm. Seventeen more of the guns were, without much consultation, sent over, the anchors cut away with the sprit-sail yard, and flying jibboom, and everything done, without regard to loss, which was to give her ease. The pumps also choked in the hatch-way, and were hastily removed to their former place. The next day, the foresail, as they were hauling it up, split all to pieces by the violence of the wind. The rigging, also, through incessant strains by the labouring of the ship, gave way. Thus they just swam almost a wreck upon the sea, every moment expecting to sink forever, and every wave to be the last through which the ship could struggle, for they could not spare the hands from the pumps and baling to repair any damages. Happy had it then been thought, if their worst enemies had come to save them by bondage from a more inglorious death. But not a sail was met with or seen, since the departing of the *Duke of Bedford* privateer, during the whole time of their distress.

Mr. Walker was now the only man, except one, who did not make some visible shew of his fears, and indeed the only one who appeared unconcerned as to the danger, as he insisted the ship would reach her port ; but then his great anxiety of acting shewed him touched with a more general care than he would express for himself alone. Being addressed by some of the most terrified, that prayers might be said, he answered, he hoped every man's heart was an altar of constant prayer and praise, but that a formal ceremony of such duty presented in

¹ The inside planking or lining of a ship.

distress only, looked like a compulsive sacrifice of fear, and was confessing the motive of it, despondency, which might be justly rewarded with the bad effects of its danger in lowering the spirits or hopes of the men, but that to animate themselves and men was doing their duty to the last, on such good assurances of being right therein, prepared to submit to fate, or ready to embrace with thanks their deliverance. When afternoon came, the men began to flag in spirits and in work, seeming careless of the arrival of that fate to which they thought they must yield at last, and several argued it to be folly in them to pump any longer. To offer threats or penalties where death was asked, promised little success.

Whilst Mr. Walker was thus in study what means to use, he missed most of his principal officers at the same time. They, in fact, had retired from under his eye, not daring before him to give utterance to their mutual feelings of their danger, and had met in the gun-room in melancholy consolation, in order to take eternal leave of each other. Acquainted herewith, but not seeming to notice it, he privately sent up a man to the top to cry a sail, and having called his drum to him, bid it immediately beat to arms. The sudden alarm of joy soon elevated the men, and startled the despondents below, who, running up and hearing a sail cried, closed round Mr. Walker for his orders. "Sir," says one, "do you think of engaging?" "Yes, sir," says Mr. Walker, in a low voice, "when I see an enemy so near—your own fears which attack the hearts of all my other men. I am willing to take my greater part of duty, but you leave too much to my share." Perceiving the device, in which as they felt the rebuke, they were convinced of his superior perseverance, they never after left his command, but the discovery was not communicated to the men, for it now growing dark, they were kept up in spirits for the night, as in hopes of coming up with the sail next morning.

The next morning no sail appearing, the men were somewhat cast down; but the storm being abated they were encouraged to proceed to the first land, as they were in no capacity of going in search of a chase. This held for the greater part of the day, till reflection shewing

them the insufficiency of their past hopes, and no further prospect rising of success, the former malady of mind returned, and all seemed lost again : when Mr. Walker assured them, as positive in his own judgment, they would see land next day. This again wound up hope, which waits on expectation, though he certainly did not make assurance to himself of his promise, but only used this device as a policy which touched the chief spring of the mind's machine, namely, the same hope on which all the other passions turn. During this suspense, a man came running upon the quarter-deck, whether scared by his own fears, or sent by the others is uncertain, with news that the ship was just then going to sink.

" You villain, you lie ! " cries Mr. Walker. " She told me otherwise this moment, as she rose on yonder wave," and knocked down the poor fellow, who went back to his comrades, with an account of the reception he met with for his over-hasty intelligence. Thus Mr. Walker's undismayed resolution to the last began to communicate itself to the spirits of the others, and kept them up through weariness and fatigue, with an hope which sometimes grew to a faith, that they were to be preserved because he was the prophet. And thus another night was worn through in labour and anxiety, wishing for a suspension of death till morn, which was expected to bring the promised reprieve.

The morning came and joy, like an additional light broke forth with it, and cheered the souls and very beings of the men, for land now appearing, proved it a true prophecy. Thither they steered, and the weather clearing and wind favourable, they seemed to make a happy progress on their way, though still in equal danger and with incessant fatigue of mind and body. The land was St. Ives.

At length their strength was just exhausted, notwithstanding the continued prospect of relief more and more at hand, which spoke an encouragement, when they reached the bay, and had they had another league to go it is thought their best labour had not attained it, so spent were the men, and so deep was the water in the ship. They instantly hoisted their colours of

distress, and fired some of their remaining guns as signals ; upon which the boats went off to their assistance, and brought the ship into the road. From the quantity of water in her hold, and the want of anchors to bring her up, it was judged most advisable to get her within the pier, but the people not being able, through the violence of the wind and sea, so to do, she fell to leeward of the harbour, and lodged herself on a rocky shore, which the moment she touched, she broke into two, and almost separated ; one mast falling in upon the shore, and the other mast upon the sea. By the nearness of the shore and the number of boats, all the men were saved except four, and three of these had foretold the destruction of the ship.

Thus fell a wreck the finest privateer in Europe. It is certain she felt a shock by the falling of the yard, but the carpenter insisted she would have equally leaked and her butts have started on account of the heads of the nails being eaten away with rust, and of the planks not being well trinned, as has been before observed, which French method of building is herein erroneous, for though they be very skilful in the mechanism of a ship as to her proportions for well sailing, yet they are not so just in the goodness of their constructions, their bodies being generally too weak, as was proved to be the case of this unfortunate ship, whereas the trinnels, or pegs, by swelling, become of a united body with the rest of the planks or timber, and, having no heads for the planks to force against, cannot so readily start as the others. But in accounting for this accident to the ship, I have heard Mr. Walker lay great charge of it to himself, and have his express directions to mention it, as it may be of some public use : That the French, regarding chiefly the sailing of their ships, may, in their great knowledge of mechanics calculate to an exactness the strength of them, to the weight of metal they are to bear ; he changing her guns, from twenty-eight nine-pounders, to thirty twelve- and nine-pounders, as before mentioned, might be too constant and top-heavy a weight on her decks when she came to labour in a storm.

The people of the sea coast of Cornwall have for some years undergone the censure of being savage devourers of all wrecks, that strike against their coasts. How weak a creature is general belief, the dupe of idle fame ! Humanity never exercised its virtues more conspicuously than in this instance, in the inhabitants and people of St. Ives. They flocked down in numbers to our assistance, and, at the risk of many of their own lives, saved ours. Mr. Walker would not be prevailed upon to quit the ship till he had seen the sick lifted through the cabin windows into the boats, bidding all, without distinction, provide for themselves, as he was capable of swimming ; but he was himself, at last, lifted out by two of the townsmen, strangers to him, who went upon the wreck to bring him off.

It would be tedious to paint all the sensible expressions of thanks and gratitude in the people to Providence for this their great deliverance. I shall mention one for the whole, as the most particularly observed by the rest. The surgeon who had been on board, was a gentleman of good wit and understanding, but unhappily remarkable for too loose a neglect of duty to that Being he had always sense enough to revere. In all the former scenes, amidst others' concern, he shewed so little sense of feeling at any change of state which mortality was subject to, that his lighter flights of humour seemed still wholly to possess him. At the very last consultation, when every other mind was attentive to the highest objects, he having fixed his eyes very stedfastly on a person opposite to him, who had but one arm, broke out into a violent fit of laughing ; and being reprimanded for his mirth, so out of season, " I am only laughing," says he, " to think how awkward that fish there will swim with but one fin." This gentleman getting on shore, whither the ship, as by the word of Providence, had just lived to deliver them before her own dissolution, and being touched certainly at such interposition in his favour, in the presence of the whole company, threw up an eye to heaven that sparkled with a fire more than commonly human, crying out, " O God ! to whom, for these seven years, I have not lifted up my eye or heart in

prayer, I now presume to thank you. Let me never forget this thy mercy, or my duty more."

When they came into the town, everybody's house was open to them in all the offices of assistance ; but above all other instances which could be given of the generosity of the place, gratitude must here pay her greatest debt in remembering John Stevens, Esq., whose unwearied activity, liberality, and prudence, in aiding, befriending and directing our affairs, are without parallel, except in other like actions of his own. He took Mr. Walker to his own house, where he lived with him during his stay in the place. He was, in short, in every circumstance, from Mr. Walker down to the lowest man, the father of redress to every grievance. When we mention this gentleman as most distinguishable amongst many others, we do not forget to acknowledge the debt of obligation we owe to the mayor, the magistrates, and other gentlemen of the town, whose invitations, readiness to serve, and other acts of civility, rendered them ever worthy the best report of their deserving.

The first night, Mr. Walker made all his officers sleep under their arms, as he did the like, to be in readiness in case of any attack against the wreck ; and accordingly so it happened, for in the night the miners came down, and were setting about sharing the wreck amongst them. At the very first alarm, the mayor himself was up and a party of the town, who went in arms with Mr. Walker against them, dispersed the crowd, and took some of the men prisoners. These are a people the civil power are scarcely answerable for, at least for their good manners, as they live almost out of the districts of human society, and may be said to be no visible inhabitants of the earth, though they act in the world.

The time during their stay, which was upwards of three weeks, was solely employed in taking care of the wreck, and through the assistance of the aforesaid gentlemen and others, every thing and matter was taken care of with as much and more exactness than if the wreck had lain at the shore of Dartmouth, or the doors of the proprietors, and a great part was saved to a

considerable amount. Mr. Walker did not forget to remind his officers in the duty he had before advised to them, of returning thanks to that Preserver to Whom they owed so great a deliverance, and the Sunday after went, at the head of all his officers and most of the crew, to church, where public thanks were returned for the late great and divine mercies they had received ; and the clergyman was so interested in the case as to preach a very excellent sermon suitable to the occasion. Mr. Walker then went to Dartmouth.

Thus ended this unfortunate cruise, protracted for upwards of three months, by various perplexities and accidents, in which Mr. Walker was to take his trial as in success. I have not yet made mention of the cause of the *George* tender quitting the *Boscawen*, which, perhaps, was one of the wickedest steps ever taken of the kind. The captain of her designedly went off with her to Ireland, and there sold the greater part of her wines. He, indeed, returned with her afterwards to Dartmouth, with some vague excuses for his behaviour. This action also shews itself the more wicked, as, in their consequent distress, they might all have perished for want of the assistance he could have given.

This was the only cruise in which I did not attend Mr. Walker, having been detained at Dartmouth through illness, but I was present at the interviews between him and his late owners, who received him with marks of esteem and a joy equal to what had been the claim of the best success. One of the first questions Mr. Walker asked was, whether they were insured ? The answer was, no, nor ever would be, in a ship where he commanded. They further offered, and which was, at several times after repeated, to build him a new forty-gun ship from the stocks, after his own model and directing, but his affairs at this present hurried him to London.

THE FIRST CRUISE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

CHAPTER XI

The fitting out the Royal Family privateers ; accident to the Prince Frederick ; escape from three French men-of-war ; separation from the Princess Amelia ; meeting the West India fleet ; taking a French tartan under the fortifications of Saffia ; complaint made to the court of London, and some observations thereon.

SOME gentlemen of London (John Casmajor, Valentine Comyns, Edward Ironside, Esqrs. and Mr. Parnell Neville, all since deceased, William Belcher, Israel Jalabert, and James Talbot, Esqrs.¹) in the year 1746 fitted out a fleet of private ships of war, called the *Royal Family*, under the command of Mr. Walker ; giving him the entire direction of the same, as to its equipment and the appointment of all the officers. Captain Talbot's success in two of the said ships, which he had before commanded, engaged him and the rest to increase the number under the present trust. This fleet was fitted out at Bristol, and by a few delays in the managers, took up near three months before it was completed ; the greater part of which time Mr. Walker was present, giving directions ; as almost every thing depended upon his management ; and had he been the first principle of motion, the machine had kept better time.

In one article, indeed, of our equipment, we had not the least difficulty, that of getting men : which is generally a cause of delay, and the most material business of preparing such expeditions. For most of the officers

¹ See Introduction, page xxxi.

and men of the *Boscawen* continued close adherents to Mr. Walker ; and the report of so great a private fleet to be fitted out, and the character and known success of the commander, had drawn together such numbers of seamen to offer themselves, that near as many were refused as would have manned a like number of ships ; though at this time there was a great scarcity of hands, both in the government and merchant service. Which circumstance seems to strengthen the opinion I have often received from the willingness of our common sea-men to serve in private ships of war, that, was our navy put on a more favourable footing in some particulars, very easy to be complied with, there would always be a sufficiency of men ready offering to the service. For certainly there are equal hands in these kingdoms, with the assistance of neutral seamen, who flock to us in time of war, under a proper disposition of them at one and the same time, to man the whole fleet of England, and navigate the trade of the merchants.

Amidst these preparations, a circumstance appeared very irregular in the outset ; which begot a dissatisfaction in some foreboding minds, as it assailed the confidence they before had in the managers. This was, that all the time of the fleet's being fitted out, no copy of the articles, which were to be executed between the managers, the officers, and men, was sent down for the perusal and inspection of those concerned : and though, at the repeated desire and request of several of the captains and officers Mr. Walker had frequently wrote up to London for it, yet it could not be obtained ; till within a few days before the ships were prepared to sail, the articles themselves were sent down, ready ingrossed and signed by the managers. In these articles, besides allowing themselves five per cent. upon the whole, as managers, they had also made themselves agents to the officers and men, with a further allowance of five per cent. for such new office. This particular of the agency was so much disrelished by most of the people that many of the officers and others absolutely refused to serve any longer, and offered up their commissions. But Mr. Walker, who had now compleated the fleet, was eager

to be at sea ; and who, from his general good opinion of mankind (which known part of his character proceeds from the too common error of honest men judging others from themselves) had really conceived well of his managers, publicly expressed such his particular confidence in their honour, and turned advocate for the articles ; saying, that, whilst we disputed about the agency, we perhaps lost an opportunity of finding the fortune. By this and other persuasions, giving high encomiums on the great merit of our owners in fitting out so fine a set of ships, he at last prevailed, that everybody in compliance signed the articles, tho' far from being convinced of the equity of them.

The fleet set sail April 28, 1746, from King's Road, Bristol, on a cruise of eight months. The ships were

		Guns	Men
<i>King George</i>	George Walker, Com.	32	300
<i>Prince Frederick</i>	Hugh Bromedge,	26	260
<i>Duke</i>	Edward Dottin, formerly first lieutenant to the <i>Boscawen</i>	20	260
	} Capts.		
<i>Princess Amelia</i>	Robert Denham	24	150
		—	—
		102	970

Crouds of spectators, as such a fleet had not appeared before in these parts, acclaimed aloud a pleasure at our appearance ; which was ecchoed in joy within the breasts of the men ; and returned in salutes of our guns from every ship. But this great joy and fine appearance were overcast by two accidents, which damped the first and lessened the latter ; for about twelve o'clock the *Prince Frederick*, through the carelessness or supposed ignorance of the pilot, ran ashore on the Welsh Hook, and made signals of distress. The tide running very strong in the channel, as it usually does, prevented the commodore sending any assistance ; but at four o'clock he came to an anchor with the *Duke* and *Princess Amelia*, under the Flat Holmes. In the evening Captain Bromedge's barge coming on board, acquainted the

commodore that the *Prince Frederick* had received so much damage by her late accident that it was thought she would not be able to proceed. Whereupon the commodore went himself on board the *Prince Frederick*, and finding she made eighteen inches water in an hour, he ordered her back, and sent an express of the accident to the managers for their directions to him, whether to proceed, or wait her repair.

Whilst the ships lay thus waiting for an answer from the managers, the other accident happened on board the *Duke* : which was a very rash and passionate murder committed by one of the common men on another, by stabbing him in the breast, thro' an ill-grounded resentment for some slight affront conceived. Mr. Walker having had intelligence of the accident, went on board the *Duke*. The men, taking upon them to execute what had been strict justice in itself, though by no means legal in them, had hanged the murderer by the two wrists to the yard-arm, where the poor wretch was roaring in great agonies. Mr. Walker immediately ordered him down ; and taking the depositions of the evidence, sent the deceased, the criminal, and the two principal witnesses, to a magistrate at Bristol. The fellow was afterwards tried and hanged.

May third, the express returned from the managers, with directions to put to sea without the *Prince Frederick*, who was obliged to go into dock. Signal being again made for weighing anchor, and orders left with Captain Bromedge in what station to join us, we set sail on our cruise. Our first station being ordered to be between Cape St. Vincent in Portugal and Cape Cantin, on the coast of Barbary ; till a certain day—May 10, the island of Scilly bearing S.E. by E. distant seven leagues, the *Princess Amelia* being a great way astern, the commodore made signal for shortning sail till she got up. Whilst we lay to for her, we saw three sail to the south-west quarter, standing to the eastward. Upon which, signal being given to chase, and all things ordered for engaging, we came so near them towards evening, as to discover they were ships of war of great force, at least sixty or seventy guns each ; therefore apprehending



The Prince Frederick and the Duke taking the Marquis d'Antin and Louis Erasmus, July, 1745.

From Ravenet's engraving of the painting by Charles Brooking.

ALLFARTHING LANE,
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their slow making from us a pretence of fear to decoy us into their reach, as such it really was, we at once hauled our wind and left off the chase. On which they all hoisted French colours, tacked about, and stood after us. The *Princess Amelia* being, as was observed, greatly astern, it blowing very hard and night coming on, signal was made for her to alter her course, and shut up her lights : which she obeyed. But we and the *Duke*, who kept close company with us, being so much nearer to the enemy, apprehended ourselves in great danger of being overtaken. The commodore ordered us and the *Duke*, by signals, to keep on our course and set up our lights, which seemed a contradictory conduct to the orders given the *Princess Amelia* ; and, as we were closely pursued, could not fail of being reprehended in most of our judgements. But it now growing dark, the commodore called the carpenter to him, and making him fix a step in a large bathing tub he had for his own use, and set a pole upright in it like a mast, he put into it a quantity of ballast, and ordered him to nail a tarpaulin closely over it ; then hanging a lantern and light to the top, he let it down over the stern into the sea. We then shut up all our lights and altered our course, as did the *Duke* also. At day-break we saw nothing of the three French men-of-war, but missing also the *Princess Amelia*, we imagined that she must have fallen in with the enemy, and struck to them. This finesse, which was certainly the cause of our preservation, might, I think, be improved into common practice on the like occasions, by all ships who run such danger, taking with them a few small boats or skiffs, such as fishermen drag after them with their live fish ; for if the light exists but for a few minutes, the purpose is answered.

The same morning, about six o'clock, we saw in the south-east quarter a large fleet of ships, whom the commodore imagined to be a fleet which the aforesaid men-of-war were convoying ; and, as he supposed, had lost. We instantly bore down to them ; and upon coming near, perceived several large ships of force also with them. But as they were all to leeward, Mr. Walker ordered our course to be continued, saying, that though

he might not have leave given him to burn, sink, and destroy, according to his orders ; yet he would venture to pick and chuse as many of them as he could man. At nine o'clock we came up with them. They proved to be our own West India and Newfoundland fleet, with several East India ships, under convoy of the *Milford* and *Rye* men-of-war. Mr. Walker went on board his majesty's ship the *Rye*, to acquaint the captain of our having seen three French men-of-war the day before, and to inform him of the latitude in which we imagined them to be. And here I must take notice of a circumstance relating to the misconduct of our own merchantmen, in the great disregard they pay in general to the orders of their convoy, of which this is a particular instance. Mr. Walker having observed to the captain of the *Rye* that had he himself been a Frenchman, or they a French fleet, he could have made any number of them prizes, and brought them off in spite of the convoy ; the captain made answer, " True, sir, and what censure would have fallen on his majesty's officers ! And yet, let me do all I can, these masters of common vessels, who sail better than the rest, will keep to windward : for as to firing at them, I have done it till I am tired, and may fire away every shot in the ship."

He then asked Mr. Walker if his intent was to keep company. But Mr. Walker answered, that, as there was no enemy in sight, nor any certainty of meeting one, such delay might be imputed by his owners wrong in him. However, the Indiamen were ordered by the captain of the *Rye* to hoist up pennants to appear as men-of-war, and to form themselves and sail in a line of battle. And Mr. Walker, having given this necessary information, took his leave ; and afterwards plyed to windward of the straggling merchant men, and by firing obliged them to bear down under the lee of their convoy. The commodore of the *Rye* and Mr. Walker then parted with mutual salutes of guns ; and we afterwards had the pleasure to hear that they all arrived safe.

From this time to the 31st of May, the weather continued very hazy. In which interim we gave chase to several sail ; but, they either by having the wind of us,

or by the power of the night, got clear. And here we found our feathers clipped, wanting the swiftness of the *Boscawen*, who in comparison to our present ships, was as a bird of prey to the labouring wing of a pursued inferior. However, we had a stout and well built ship under us, which was of equal use in its place. We constantly made the signal of the *Princess Amelia* to all the ships we saw, which we could imagine might be she, hoping to have met her ; but not being answered by any, concluded her, as we before said, fallen into the enemy's hand. Being now come upon our station, off Cape Cantin, we saw an armed sail off the bay of Saffia, on the coast of Barbary, who hoisting French colours immediately run into the road. We then stood in after her, running as far as seven fathom water, and fired some shots : at the same time the fortification returned the fire we intended at her pretty smartly upon us. But the commodore being unacquainted with the bay, and not daring to venture in any further for fear of shallow water, made his signal to our other ships to sail off, which we likewise did, as if we meant intirely to quit her. When it was dark, he again brought to with the *Duke* and made signals for the captain and first lieutenant to come on board. This was in order to consult about cutting her out ; for as he well knew the emperor of Morocco was then at war with the French, he did not imagine the fort meant to protect her from the English, with whom he was at peace, and concluded the firing from the fortifications to have proceeded from mistake. Upon this presumption three boats were ordered to be manned, with design to sound the bay close under shore, and so to board her and cut her away. The boats received express orders that when they came so near the enemy as to be perceived, they should make several false fires ; which the enemy, should they be then lying on their small arms, might imagine so many combustible stinkpots ¹ to

¹ Stinkpots, *pots à feu*, earthen jars or shells, charged with powder and other materials of an offensive and suffocating smell, were used by privateers in the western ocean in the attack of an enemy, before boarding. They were furnished with a lighted fuse at the touch hole.

be thrown in upon them ; and which in all probability would occasion them immediately to quit their decks.

The command of this action was given to Mr. Riddle, the commodore's second lieutenant. Accordingly the boats set off, well officered and manned. About one o'clock we heard the report of a brisk firing from the bay, by which we judged they had met with a sharp reception. And so it proved ; for the enemy, lying on the watch, as was conjectured, received the boats with a well supported preparation, whilst the attack was as resolute on our side. Our boats hoping to surprize them, trusted in this their own after-thought, and neglected to light the false fires as were directed ; but the moon rising, shewed them this mistake, and discovered them to the enemy, who being in expectation of them had time to get to their arms : for she was a French pollacra,¹ with a letter of marque, having six carriage guns, eighty small arms, and about twenty men. Mr. Riddle was at one fire very strangely wounded in two several places by a ball entering in at his temple above the cheek bone and out of the other, and by another ball passing in at his shoulder quite under the skin and flesh, out of the opposite one, upon which he instantly fell. Yet nothing dismayed, the rest boldly pressed forward to board sword in hand, which was at last effected ; the men in the ship firing their volleys very thick, and the forts continually playing on our boats at the same time. At half an hour after four in the morning, the firing ceased ; whereupon we made our signals for the boats, and were answered by them : and at three o'clock we saw them returning with the vessel ; which was the *Postilion de Nantz*, burthen about ninety tons, bound to Cadiz. Several men were wounded on the side of the enemy, and the only accident received on ours, besides Mr. Riddle's wounds, was that of one man losing an hand as he boarded, which was entirely cut off at a blow ; as to Mr. Riddle's wounds,

¹ The Pollacra (*polacre*) was a small square-rigged vessel of the Mediterranean, having pole masts without tops or cross-trees. When sail is taken in the yards are lowered nearly upon each other. Formerly these vessels were very common, but since the Great War they are becoming extinct.

they were afterwards to an admiration perfectly cured ; and his friends have the pleasure of his being at present living, to shew the indisputable tokens of our report.

Upon the commodore's examining the condition of the prize, and finding her, upon information, to be a very prime sailor, he appointed her as a tender, in the room of the *Princess Amelia* ; and calling her the *Prince George*, manned her with thirty hands, and gave the command to Mr. John Green, his first lieutenant. It may be asked why this late business was put under the conduct of the commodore's second lieutenant, and the first rewarded by it. When the resolution was taken by the commodore, the first lieutenant gave his opinion that it would be better to wait till day-light, but offered to go. " Sir," says Mr. Walker, " though I have no reason to doubt your prowess, yet I never will send a man upon an expedition to which he has any objection : " and so gave the command to Mr. Riddle. On our returning with success, he shewed his respect to Mr. Green by giving him his due place or rank ; and Mr. Riddle did not go unrewarded, as will be hereafter shewn. But we must first recover him of his wounds.

Mr. Walker took the usual care of his prisoners ; and afterwards, June 6, meeting with a Dutch snow (the *Peace*) coming from Sallee, and bound to Santa Cruz in Barbary, the captain of the French prize requested to be put on board the Dutch ship, representing to Mr. Walker that he believed he should be able at the last place, with the assistance of his friends, to ransom the cargo. This Mr. Walker complied with, and he was accordingly put on board. In consequence whereof, on the 9th, we stood in to Santa Cruz, and in the evening a boat came off with two letters to the commodore, " That as the *Postilion de Nantz* was taken under the cannon at Saffia, they thought her not a legal prize ; and therefore would not ransom her cargo." The commodore's chief aim of coming to the place was only to serve the unfortunate captain : he had no time to lose in argument ; and immediately made sail out of the bay, having first discharged and sent ashore all the prisoners with their

cloaths, &c., except three of the men, whom he reserved in order to condemn the vessel.

We some years after found that a complaint of this matter had been made by the Moors to the court of London : it being alledged a custom with them to receive and protect any ship of what nation soever, which comes to trade or traffick with them ; though at the same time in war with the country to which it belongs. This was a circumstance at the same time not known to Mr. Walker, nor is it in fact a real truth, but depends mostly on their arbitrary humour, as occasion suits. The affair, as it has been said, was considered as attacking an enemy's ship in the port of its enemy ; else Mr. Walker (as I am confident from a knowledge of his prudence and disposition, and as I have heard him declare, which is proof sufficient) would not have committed the least act of hostility or infringement on the lowest power in friendship with us, to have gained the richest prize upon the seas ; or risked doing a violence to any of his country's treaties. The great danger such actions are liable to, of misleading the opinions of the people at home, by the false representation of things abroad, being matters of uncertainty, ought to make our officers in such command more than ordinary cautious ; as a moment's rashness, for a little lucre to a few particulars, may be the cause of evils running down, like a distemper in the blood of posterity, and an expence of millioned treasures to the nations on both sides. Such rencounters abroad are generally acted in a disputed latitude, and are a latitude of dispute to their owners at home ; whilst king, minister, and people must take their words at the first instance of the hair-breadth distances in debate, or measurements at sea. Restitution is then the word, before the right is proved. At the partial disappointment, the Antigallic nation is told to cry revenge ; and if the minister still keeps his temper, a Cromwell's ghost is wanted to take upon him the new war. Such proceedings ought to stand in example like rocks to be avoided, in the conduct of all future seamen ; and I am the more explicit in delivering my opinion herein, as I know some persons have endeavoured to throw a cen-

sure on Mr. Walker's behaviour, upon account of this preceding capture at Saffia. However, the restitution here could be but very trifling : the chief of the cargo being but forty tons of bees-wax, powder, and warlike implements, bound to Cadiz, the whole computed at but 1,784*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* ; nor did Mr. Walker know of the complaint till he was absolutely a prisoner in the King's Bench, unable to make enquiry or application, to set matters, if needed, to rights. But when Envy cannot get herself lifted up to stand with Fame upon her pedestal, it sets Calumny to work at the pillar, to throw the envied statue down.

CHAPTER XII

Alteration of our station ; meeting the Prince Frederick ; landing at Tercera ; the entertainment there

THE certain day in Mr. Walker's orders being expired, we were now to change our cruise for the remaining part of the first four months to a new station : viz. between the Western Isles¹ and banks of Newfoundland. Accordingly, July the fifth, plying off Tercera, one of the Western Isles, with an intent of watering, we saw a sail to the eastward, bearing down upon us, as willing to come to an engagement. Discovering her to be a ship of force we soon cleared, and got all hands to quarters ; but, on coming up, how great our joy, she proved to be the *Prince Frederick*, Captain Bromedge, whom we left to repair at Bristol. Captain Bromedge also brought the news that the *Princess Amelia*, being chaced by three French men-of-war, had strained herself in carrying too much sail, and sprung a leak ; but that she had got clear of them, and being obliged to bear away for Lisbon, had made that port half full of water. This account he received off Cape Cantin by a schooner, which she had on purpose sent express to that station ; and though not a very favourable one, yet it was accepted by us as good news, in comparison

¹ The Azores.

to the total loss of her which we had supposed ; as it compleated the joy of our knowing our whole family was yet alive.

We stopped at Tercera to water, where our new tender, the *Prince George*, was of great use to us for the watering at that place is attended with great difficulty to ships of any bigness, and with some danger even to small ones. Wherefore the commodore sent her to anchor in the road, there to take in her loading of wood and water, whilst our ships in the mean time lay waiting off and on, in the offing.

The commodore going on shore for a few necessaries, some of us went with him to see the island, being a place little frequented by strangers, perhaps on the account of the danger for shipping. It is nevertheless blessed with a prolific fertility in various commodities, as wines, corn, fruits, lemons, oranges, and olives ; and by its commodious situation for trade, might answer the hopes of the adventurous. Nature has also poured her greatest beauties on it, which again are not left neglected or unadorned by art. It is inhabited by the Portuguese, and has some magnificent buildings and squares in its little metropolis, being a place of residence of several of the Portuguese noblemen, and other families of distinction. It has also an English consul. The commodore waiting on the consul was by him the same evening introduced to several of the noblemen ; and as there was next day to be a consecration of a new church, he was by them invited to see the ceremony. The consul, upon our taking leave, asked the commodore if he had any musicians on board, and said their assistance at the said ceremony would be taken as a great compliment, for the place had very few such of the degrees of perfection. As the commodore was a lover of music he had a finer band than perhaps ever were together in one ship, viz. two horns and two flutes, which had been in the king of Denmark's service at Copenhagen, and had been with us in the *Boscawen*, as before-mentioned ; to which he had added a black drummer, and an hand from England of great execution on the large or Welsh harp (an instrument not much in use but excelled by none) as also a

performer on the violin, who was reckoned the second in England, but whose bad circumstances obliged him to put himself in this service. He sent them all, immediately on his coming on board the same evening, to the consul's, that they might join in the rehearsal that evening, ordering them to take changes of dress for next day. We had also two of our young gentlemen volunteers, so remarkably great on the violin, that, if they had disliked the profession, they had certainly made it their study. To these also the commodore gave the offer of going, which they accepted.

The next day, he and some of the captains, principal officers, and gentlemen of the four ships coming on shore, some of the noblemen and gentlemen of the church met him ; and, in acknowledging his civility of the preceding evening, gave him an intelligence of himself and his commission ; which he did not before know of, " that he was sent by their new saint to assist them on the happy occasion." The procession to the church was very grand. All the noblemen and other persons of distinction, priests, Jesuits, and gentlemen walking, and some equipages attending. When we came to the church, which was very magnificent, large, and lofty, being (to our surprize in this era of taste) in the Gothic style, richly ornamented ; we were conducted to a place prepared for our reception : and, except as to the performance of some offices in the ceremony of consecration, which could not but give umbrage to the free-born reason of Englishmen, unsubdued by priesthood or church-superstition, the divine service was very exalted, and awe-striking to the heart. So that to use the words of a French author, " If heaven did not approve the justness of the worship, it could not be displeased at the endeavour." I think it is Mons. St. Evremont, who makes an observation on this subject, between the different manners of worship in the Catholics and Presbyterians, " That the first do every thing they think will please, and the latter are tender of doing any thing which they fear may displease." To which, as an observer of the present performance I will here venture to add, that by the overdoing of the one, upon these

principles, and the too little ceremony of the other, the medium is left, as the properest or temperate state between the two extremes, to be filled up by some just borrower of their merits and corrector of their faults ; in which character the present Protestant might with some easy and happy alteration stand. The musical performance was certainly much indebted to the various change of instruments our few hands added to its harmony : as the same performers on the horns were occasionally equally powerful on the trumpet, and the fluters on the hautboys ; which sometimes in separate pieces, oftentimes joined by our three violins and the new organ, which was a very fine one, and accompanied by voices numerous and perfect, composed a concert truly grand. Our black drummer also performed with great earnestness and attention, putting on a face of self-significancy and general admiration, which so worked inward in a real sense of feeling approbation, that we may say he got here a new religion ; for he never after would be persuaded to think otherways but that the Tercera religion was the best ; because, as he said, it was *most worship*. This is as strong a proof as we can have from nature, that, in argument of reformation, it is the errors of doctrine we ought to contend with, not the ceremony of worship ; which, to make it serious to the impressionable mind, cannot be too solemn, or too much assisted by every decency of dress, which makes it reasonably more so.

After the consecration was over, the time would not permit of any other invitation of repast being given us, except a most elegant regale of sweetmeats, fruits, and wines ; for we were hastened from hence to another entertainment, the fight of their bulls, commonly called a bull-feast. This was performed in their largest square in their town, built round with stately houses, where the people of fashion resided. Most of the houses had large balconies, which were on this occasion hung round with tapestry and other ornaments ; and filled with gentlemen and ladies, all in high dress, which made a very great appearance. There was a particular balcony appointed for us. And as the entertainment

was a new one, we could not but be obliged at the notice taken of us in such singular accommodation.

There were three bulls, and to each a cavalier, who were persons of distinction, attended by footmen of an inferior quality ; and each combat was single. The horseman was armed with a strong lance, and the footmen with small spears and darts, and with loose cloaks or piece of scarlet cloth in their hands. At the sound of a trumpet the bull was turned up through a kind of trap-door, from a ground-chamber wherein he was housed, into the square, at the inside of railings. And coming out from his cell furious, and maddened with the shouts of the spectators, the horseman advancing, he generally makes up to him ; if not, he is provoked and instigated to a madness or courage by the darts and other insults of the footmen. The cavalier always shews his great skill in horsemanship, in the number of circumvolutions he makes to avoid the blow of the enemy. Sometimes he is so fortunate as to kill him at the first thrust of his lance, aiming mostly at the back of the neck where the spinal vein runs : which if cut through or wounded, the bull, as is the case with all other animals, falls at once lifeless to the ground : and this is the highest victory can be gained over him. At which, and at all other feats of gallantry or horsemanship in the combat, the ladies and other spectators signify their approbations by waving out their handkerchiefs. The conqueror always immediately rides up to the most considerable personages in the place, or some admired fair one, to pay his devoirs to them ; which are always received with great returns of applause. Sometimes, if he miss his stroke at the bull, the bull is victor both of man and horse, and often kills both, or either ; but generally the horse, ripping open his very bowels : though, if the cavalier be unhorsed, the attendants on foot, who keep on each side of him, interpose ; and by throwing their darts at the bull, draw his pursuit after some one of them. Some of the darts have lighted squibs at the end, which firing and bursting, as they stick in his hide, provoke him to such anger, as makes it terrible to see and hear. In this exercise, the footmen

are surprizingly expert and nimble ; but if the bull be too quick upon any of them, the person so attacked throws his cloak on his horns, just at the stoop of his head, in which position for his stroke the creature always shuts his eyes ; and then [the footman] with admirable agility steps aside. Sometimes, though the footman miss his horn, yet if he but lets the cloth fall before him, the bull always stops to engage that ; and will toss it, if permitted, for a considerable time. This is a knowledge with which, and a presence of mind, a person by accident attacked by any of these creatures, may with ease escape. Having seen the performance here, I some years ago in Essex, escaped safe from one of them, who made at me alone in a field, by opening an India coloured handkerchief, and letting it fall. However, by the great nimbleness and sudden turnings of the creature, many of the most expert in this sport are taken by surprize ; and are often killed or miserably wounded, being sometimes tossed by his horns in the air upwards of fifteen feet high. If one cavalier be dismounted, another engages him, thus more provoked, and another : and if he holds the conquest over them, the footmen then begin a new attack with their spears, until he falls a victim to as cruel a diversion, except our English throwing at cocks, as ever gave entertainment to the human attention ; especially that of the tenderer part of our species, the fair sex.

This diversion over, Mr. Walker, and his officers received an invitation from the lady abbess of the nunnery there, to pay her a visit before his departure, if possible, that evening. The message was well understood, she being desirous of hearing our musicians, having received a report of them from the priests in the morning. Mr. Walker very obligingly went, and carried us all with him. We were conducted into a very lofty and spacious hall, divided across in the middle with rails finely wrought, reaching up almost to the ceiling, all of silver. In the hall were some large scripture paintings of great expression, some bustoes of curious workmanship, and a cornice with carvings of great boldness and design. A carpet was spread, and chairs placed for

Mr. Walker and his company near the rails, with stands for the performers ; a chair was set at the inside for the lady abbess, and benches ranged behind for the other ladies of the nunnery, raised in the manner of a theatre. The lady abbess came forward to the rails, and with great address, expressing herself in French, complimented our visit as an honour done to her and her house : she then took her seat, two nuns in veils standing by her all the time, one on each side ; behind her the young nuns and other votaries placed themselves in gradual rows one above another, some of them of exquisite beauty. The concert began on our side, which being, to say truth, performed with excellent mastership, and greatly aided in sound by the well-toned eccho of the hall, gave such rapture to the fair hearers that from the lady herself to the youngest fair one their expressions of pleasure declared their sensations of it to be near an ecstasy. On their parts, between the intervals, several of them played their guitars, alone, and accompanied with others ; and some of them sang. Between the acts, salvers of sweetmeats, of the greatest variety and fancy, were served to us, and wines ; all of their own making, very rich and of grateful scent and flavour. As the lady abbess spoke both French and Latin very fluently, she kept up an easy conversation with us, in which she paid the English great compliments for their high deservings in this world ; but prayed much for their souls in the next. This kind of complimentary consorts were repeated and returned from the one to the other for near three hours, and no such space of time could have been more pleasantly spent ; when the lady abbess, after giving us her benediction and paying us her thanks, retired with as much grace as she came on. The rest of the nuns or young votaries ran to various other gates, at the outer sides of the hall, under a piazza or cloisters, where each or most, being equally skilled in speaking as their mistress (languages being a peculiar study with them) entered with great ease and familiarity into conversation with most of our officers : which naturally turning on compliments to their beauty, and true expressions of pity at such happiness as they had power to

bless mankind withal, being thus cloistered from the world, they as tenderly made love in their strain, but more in the Platonic than rational system. In short, their expressions of brotherly and sisterly love, and of their marriages with Jesus, were neither more nor less than the very phrases and plan of thoughts at present used by our new set of Methodists.¹ They even proceed so far in this extravagance as to confess real passions : and particularly, one lady gave a letter to one of our officers, to be delivered to an English gentleman, with whom, from some like opportunity as this, she had fallen in love. As we did not know where to find the lover, and had a curiosity of reading it, it was afterwards opened, and from first to last had been a flower in a discourse of enthusiastic oratory. I have since seen an ingenious treatise intitled *The Methodists and Papists Compared*, and as I read it, could verify the truth of most of its opinions in this short experience. At which time, also, I could not help drawing the conclusion, that all extremes in religion, as in other things, come round to the same point. But what to me seemed most remarkable was that every one of them declared with plausible sincerity their approbation of their present state, without a desire to change. How long they would have continued their likings to it, had our young officers the liberty of more frequent visits, I will not pretend to make a judgment of ; but I cannot help thinking such methods of robbing our sex of so many of the choicest gifts of Heaven to it, looks like the contrivance or diabolical scheme of some enemy to the species. And they who would argue otherwise, must first go, after a three months' cruise, and converse with them at a grate, before I pay any attention.

After such a variety of amusements, and living all day only on sweetmeats, we were glad of accepting Mr. Consul's invitation to supper. Whilst we were there,

¹ The allusion appears to be to the tenets of Wesley and Whitefield, and the principles of salvation by faith, brotherly and sisterly love, and fellowship, which were pursued by the new religious societies both in England and America.

a couple of gentlemen from the Jesuits came, commissioned to invite us to their college the next day. At this time a gentleman of the island, a Franciscan, was in company : the business of whose order is to beg for alms to give again away to the poor. Another plan copied by our new imitating order, and doubtless meritorious where people are not proper judges of their own charity, and provided these commissioners turn out good agents, and exceed not their spiritual commission on tythes of ten per cent. This gentleman, perceiving our willingness to visit the Jesuits' college, as soon as their backs were turned bid us take care not to give them an opportunity of making our wills. Our ignorance of his meaning gave him a scope to entertain us with much humour, of which he was a perfect master, for the greater part of the night, in giving us an account of their various tricks and devices made use of to gain people's consents in their last moments for leaving the greater part of their fortunes from their families to them. At which time a nod, or contrived bob of the sick man's head, is a sufficient indication of an assent, and as good in law as a regular sealing and delivery. This tell-tale wit, however, shewed us that whatever charity these several orders of their church pretend, they have very little for one another.

It would be loitering in our history to keep the reader longer at Tercera. Next day, after paying a visit to the college, where our reception was every way agreeable, and where we were showed some curiosities, our time of watering was compleated ; for business went on at the same time with pleasure. We then set sail with our fleet, again made perfect as to the number and order of our ships.

CHAPTER XIII

The losing company of the Prince George tender in a chase ; landing at the island of Flores ; meeting with two of our East Indiamen, and arrival at Lisbon ; the badness of our provisions ; the method of taking turtle

ON our cruise off the Western Islands, July the twentieth, the *Prince Frederick* made signal of seeing some strange ships : we gave chase, and in a few hours after, saw plainly eight sail, who crouded from us as fast as they could. In this chase, we lost sight of the *Prince George*. When we came up with the sternmost ship, which was the largest, she proved to be a Dutch man-of-war of forty-four guns from Curosoe ¹ to Amsterdam, with seven merchantmen in convoy. The captain could not be persuaded but that there was a Dutch war with France, having had letters from Holland, as he said, of three months date, to such import, which was the reason of his making from us, imagining us to be French. It was six days after this, before we saw anything of our tender, at which time she came in sight, making signals of wanting to speak with the commodore : she gave an account, that in the late chase in swaying or hoisting up her main-top mast, the rope gave way, by which accident the mast fell down perpendicular on the deck, and broke three of her beams. Upon this report, the commodore sent the carpenters on board ; and, as it luckily proved moderate and fine weather, he at the same time employed all the boats, in carrying the water from the tender on board the ships ; and gave directions to Captain Green, that in case of a like chase and her springing her mast therein, which the commodore apprehended might be the consequence of the late accident, he should make to Lisbon. Accordingly so it happened : for on the thirty-first, spreading the sea as much as possible, we saw a sail to windward, the *Prince Frederick* distant about three leagues, and the chase about four, the *Duke* to leeward. In this pursuit

¹ Curaçao, the Dutch West Indian island.

we again lost sight of the *Prince George*. Captain Bromedge had the chace twice almost under his bowsprit, and perceived her to be a large snow, full of men ; but she going exceedingly well, put directly before the wind ; and it being a dark night, she altered her course, and he lost sight of her. We waited two full days for the coming of the tender ; but she not appearing in that time, we judged the accident had happened which we feared. We therefore concluded her gone to Lisbon. On the twenty-fifth of August, we saw the island of Flores, and having been out five weeks since our last watering ; and again wanting a supply, we went on shore, whilst our ships kept cruising in the offing.

Here the commodore found it necessary to apply to some of the inhabitants to assist us in the watering ; for the sweet water is here separated from the salt by precipices, above which it is lodged, and over them falls, almost quite round the island, in sheets, that break upon the rocks, and form so many beautiful cascades below : so that the island seems a gathered heap of waters, or numberless fountains in the midst of the sea. The space for the fresh water to run from the bottom of the precipices, till it meets the sea, is so short that the salt-water immediately mixes with it wherever it has formed itself by a channel into a river, or to any depth, where a boat may be brought.

There being no English consul, Mr. Walker was obliged to address himself to some of the Portuguese gentlemen ; who were so ready in ordering all necessary assistance, that Mr. Walker thought himself indebted in some return of compliment. Accordingly he gave an invitation to the gentlemen of the island to dinner, who were not very numerous, the whole island not being above five miles in length, and two in breadth. The entertainment was made on the sea-shore, under a rock near one of those beautiful cascades in prospect of the ships. And from the beauty of the situation, the ease of the reception, and music accompanying (especially the horns, which were placed in such a chosen spot as to be caught in sound by various ecchoes, one after another,

that died away along the windings of the coast) it was perhaps the highest entertainment had been given in the place : and doubtless will help to confirm its inhabitants in the practice of civility, and in a readiness to oblige all succeeding ships of our country.

We soon got again on board ; and in pursuing our cruise, at break of day we saw two large ships about three leagues distance. The commodore immediately ordered the signals to chase ; but there being very little wind, and the pursued ships going near as well as we did, the chase was held for three days and two nights. We were mostly afraid of their getting from us in the night, by altering their courses ; which the commodore perceived them endeavouring to do : wherefore, as there were but light breezes, he ordered out the boats to keep them on at all quarters, and to make false fires, for a direction for the whole fleet to keep in the chase. The second day we could discern the painting of their ships to be of French fashion.¹ The commodore then wished us joy of our fortunes being made, and the end of the cruise accomplished, acquainting us with a circumstance not before known by us with any certainty, which was, that the original intention of our owners in fitting out the fleet was for us to have gone to a certain port, Ferdinando Nero ; in where, as they had intelligence, two rich ships, the *Henry* and *Hector*, having at least a million on board, from the South Seas, were laid up for a certain season. But as the outfit of our fleet had been prevented, by various delays (which we have remarked) beyond the day intended for our sailing on that expedition, we had, as he informed us, taken our different past stations, with a design to intercept them in their way home. He now said, that the time and all other appearances corresponded to form a belief that the ships in sight were those spoke of. This account made us doubly alert and diligent ; and in no time of his life was Mr. Walker seen to shew so much elevation at good fortune as now. But, alas ! he did not know what the hearer will be equally surprized at being informed of ; that he at the head of

¹ See note in Introduction, page xxxvii.

this fine fleet, and it together, were intended to be only the dupes of greater covetousness in some of our owners, who had only joined in this expedition with the others as equal privies in the intelligence, and had secretly sent two other ships to the above port, on another joint account, in which they had fewer parties to share with : who, in security of their own intention to frustrate our destination, had in the outset of the fleet thrown many delays in its way ; and so planned the commodore's orders as purposely to miss the above-mentioned ships. But as a disquisition of these particulars belongs to a further relation, we shall defer them, with a detail of that expedition and its success, to such their more proper place. However, our commodore in the end made his cruise the better value to his proprietors, notwithstanding such treachery at home, to cut him off from this his birthright of success. Without offence to state policies, how just an epitome is this of the variance of intention sometime between the designs at home and the orders to the commander abroad ! And what a hazardous commission does such general or admiral often take, as to his credit with the people, if he does not succeed ; so that public censure mostly flies at random, but applause always hits the mark.

The third day, as we drew near our chase, they hoisted French colours ; but when we came so near as for them to be assured what country ships we were, they pulled down their French colours and hoisting English, lay to for us, as willing to speak with us. They were two of our own East India ships, homeward bound, the *Royal George*, Captain Thomas Field, and *Scarborough*, Captain Philip D'Auvergne ; and had on account of the war disguised and painted themselves in India like French ships, the better to favour their coming home. The reader may conceive the great disappointment we here felt, in meeting them not an enemy ; but as our cruise was only about half run, and we were all in health and spirits, we entered on the other part of it with equal hopes, and trusted to better fortune.

These ships were going for Lisbon there to wait for convoy ; and having great value on board, and the seas

in which they were being very hazardous, as full of enemies, the captains offered the commodore if we would convoy them thither, their joint bonds of one thousand pounds, to be paid by the company. He answered, he would never take a reward for what he thought his duty to do without one. And, as the run of our own cruise now again demanded a resting place, he agreed to convoy them thither, with this proviso in regard to his owners, that, if in his way to that port he should chance to take a prize, unassisted by them, they should waive the usual claim of share, which otherways they might make, as being in company. To this they instantly consented. Accordingly we took them in convoy, and so continued for seventeen days, being the time before we got into Lisbon. In this interim we saw various sails, who perceiving us so large a fleet, never waited even to know who we were ; but taking advantage of the wind or the night, always got from us. For which reason our great appearance, as it was a safety to them, may be supposed some loss to us in this part of the cruise. The captains, Field and D'Auvergne, were very kind in supplying us with water, which we wanted ; and we in return afforded them every supply in our power. But as for presents (which, to speak justly to their generosity, were largely offered) Mr. Walker, to avoid all censure of receiving a reward, intirely refused them ; except two pieces of handkerchiefs for his pocket, and one of muslin for neck-cloths, which after he got them, they would not accept of payment. All other things which we had from them afterwards, such as arrack,¹ &c., were regularly insisted on to be paid for at the full prices. When they came to Lisbon, they gave the commodore a copy of a letter to read, which they told him they had wrote home, in recommendation of him to their company's notice, for his late services and behaviour. But such is the backwardness of this gentleman in not advancing himself to the favour which often waits to take him by the hand, that when I

¹ Arrack (Ar. *araq*, sweat or juice), is an eastern name for spirit distilled from the sap of palms, or from rice, or molasses. Ships making the Indian voyage usually took this on board on their return trip, in lieu of brandy.

asked him why he never applied to that board, during all his late necessities, he answered, "What do I deserve from them for doing only my duty?" Yet, as that public duty to his country was a private service to them, pity, that such bashfulness of asking a reward for his deservings should make the fault intirely his own; that no notice of this action has been yet taken by such a set of gentlemen, whose generosity, known to much less actions in their service, wants no encomia or examples here.

We all got in safe to Lisbon. We here found that the *Princess Amelia* was condemned as incapable of service; and that the managers' agents there, Messrs. Mawman and Macey, had bought another vessel in her place, and fitted her up in readiness for us, which we called by the same name. Our *Prince George* tender was here also; who, as was before apprehended, had sprung her mast in the chase, but was now repaired. We were detained some little time longer than was expected, in taking in new provisions; for those we had were become now so very bad, we could not use them, having begun to stink with us before the end of the first five weeks. Whereupon, a survey was made of them, and they were condemned as every way perished and unwholesome, and thrown into the river. We imagined we had other provisions ready in the *Princess Amelia*, as she was our store ship; but were informed that those provisions also were become so rotten and infectious that under the power of the same agents they had been publicly condemned; and by order of the magistrates of health carried at some distance to sea, to be thrown out there, lest of injuring the fish in the river Tagus. This was another circumstance of contrived management, at this time only imagined by us as a lucrative scheme in the agent who had been employed at Bristol; but will be hereafter opened to be part of the aforesaid plot of deeper policy.

It may be wondered at, how our own healths were so well preserved in such bad circumstances; but the apparent means made use of by providence, were the general cleanliness in frequent washing of our ships with

vinegar¹ (owing to Mr. Walker's own inspection of them for such purpose) and the immediate care taken of every man the first moment he shews any signs of illness. To these we may add, besides the quantities of greens and fresh provisions carefully laid in at every opportunity of coming to port, the great plenty of turtle we found throughout our whole station in the midst of the sea ; which, for the sweetness of their flesh and their eggs, are not inferior to those brought from the West Indies, though not of so large a size, the greatest here not weighing half an hundred.

The method of taking them is this ; the creature always sleeps at the top of the water, at which time he lies motionless ; we row to him in our boat, with as little noise as possible, lest of awaking him, by a sculler at our stern, as the strokes of the oars would make too great a sound in the water : for if he awake he immediately strikes down and is irrecoverable to us. When we approach near him, a man stands at the head of the boat, with a long pole and hook at the head ; and putting it gently under him turns him by a sudden rise of it on his back : in which situation he floats like a boat paddling, turning himself in a circle with his feet ; but has not the least further government of himself, and cannot descend. Thus we must acknowledge our obligations to providence, who by its hand preserved us, and brought us through the designs and traps laid by men, who plot against or sport with the lives of their fellow-creatures, in laying their schemes and evil inventions for gaining lucre and false happiness to themselves.

¹ This and fumigation by " making a smoak " were the only means of disinfection known at the time.

CHAPTER XIV

The taking of the Post galley ; taking a register ship the Buen Consejo ; behaviour of the Spanish ladies ; a trifling story of a lap-dog and a monkey, yet with a moral ; the fleet's return to Lisbon

OUR coming to Lisbon occasioned much enquiry concerning us among the merchants, upon seeing so numerous a private fleet. Messrs. Mawman and Macey, a house of distinguished credit, were agents for the managers ; on them Mr. Walker had an unlimited credit. This and other recommendations gained us a respect in the place equal to what could be shewn to ships of any rank.

Mr. Walker contrived here a correspondence, by which he every week had intelligence of every thing which was then doing in Cadiz Bay, of the ships there, and those expected home. This was executed by a spy, who plied over land from thence to Faro, which was a sea-port. For this purpose Mr. Walker bought here a small sloop, and added her to the fleet as a messenger-tender ; and calling her the *Prince Edward*, gave the command of her to Mr. Shaftoe, one of his lieutenants. The number of our ships were now six. This last tender he sent regularly once a week from Lisbon to Faro, and afterwards from our station, as often as she could go and return.

When we were victualled and all things provided for the seas, we set out on the remaining half part of our cruise, which was appointed to be in our former station, between Cape St. Vincent and Cape Cantin.

The pleasure of sailing in a fleet, tho' of more care and weight of duty to a commander, is unspeakably superior, in respect of all other officers, to that of being in a single ship. The very prospect of our consorts, the giving and repeating signals, the company of the lights at night are an amusement to the mind or business to fancy, that makes the scene undisturbed by accidents, pleasingly agreeable. Besides, the diversions kept alive in the one ship or the other, form a continued circle of entertainment ; which pleasure is not always so freely

enjoyed within the stricter disciplines of the navy. Certainly no set of ships ever sailed on duty in more order and obedience to command, or in better temper with themselves, than we did upon this present cruise. In which we continued the whole remaining time, without one accident to be charged either to ill luck or ill conduct ; so that the whole appeared more a party of pleasure than of duty or service. And as the business productive of success, which was very great as to the value of the prizes, was performed in a few actions, we shall not rule ourselves to an exact account, or division of the intervening time ; it being passed in chasing and examining various ships of various countries, wherein nothing very material or interesting happened.

The first prize was a Dutchman, bound from Corunna to Cadiz, called the *Post* galley. Her cargo consisting of warlike stores, we sent her into Lisbon, where she was legally condemned ; but her value did not much exceed seventeen hundred pounds.

Some few days following, we descried a large ship off Cape Cantin. Signal being made to chase, we came up with her, and perceived her a stout ship of twenty guns ; but she firing only one gun, struck to us before she thought we had time to make a return. She was a Spanish Register ship,¹ the *Buen Consejo*, bound from Cadiz to Buenos Ayres. By her bills of lading and invoices found on board, her value appeared to be upwards of sixty thousand pounds.

These Register ships, like our East India ones, are limited to a certain number under the direction of the

¹ Spanish trade to and from the West Indies and America had been controlled in the most elaborate manner ever since the late fifteenth century, by a complicated system of registration. " In the very first regulations laid down for the guidance of Columbus and his companions, we find the germs of the most characteristic features of the Spanish commercial system as it evolved in the succeeding century. There is the control exercised by a treasurer, comptroller, and royal factor, and there is the minute provision for the registration of every sailor, officer and passenger, every piece of ordnance, every package of munitions, merchandise or provisions, carried to and from the New World." (Haring ; " Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies.")

king ; and as their voyage is to the South Seas, or the different Spanish settlements in the West Indies trading thereto, they are reckoned the richest ships of all Spain. The captain and supercargo having signified to Mr. Walker that they were willing to ransom her, he resolved for that purpose to carry her into Lisbon ; and being a prize of such value all our ships escorted her.

Among the prisoners were several ladies and persons of great wealth and some distinction, going to their foreign settlements, with whom we had some conference, so as to see their manners and dispositions ; for in all the conquests we made under Mr. Walker, we made so many acquaintances with those we conquered, as we never failed to introduce ourselves to their esteem and friendship.

We have mentioned a good deal of the French manners. The Spanish address certainly does not exceed theirs in courtesy or ceremony ; yet it has as much civility and more natural ease. And as most persons who have seen both are of my way of thinking in this particular, I may venture to say it has more agreeableness in it to an English palate, as it keeps up a dignity in the speaker, and looks more sincere. They seem to pay their politeness thro' respect to the person to whom they think it due : whereas the French are ostentatiously lavish of theirs ; shewing the gift to come more from the fund of their own generosity than any seeming apprehension of another's merits.

The ladies and some of the gentlemen, their husbands, desired as a favour that they might not be removed out of their own ship. Mr. Walker granted their request, and ordered them the free use of all the wines, other necessaries, and every accomodation in the ship, as before ; and at the same time sent his respects to them, that he would pay them a visit on board their own ship. This they imagined meant an intention in him of taking from them their things of best value ; but when he came on board, his dress and attendants looking something above the rude idea they had conceived of an English sea-captain, they seemed in an astonished pleasure. However, some of the ladies, who had got their jewels and

other valuables packed up for him, by way of bribe for his mercy and civility, offered them to him. Mr. Walker, with a smile asked them if the ship had so many supercargoes to give an account of her effects. They replied, these little riches had been their own, but now were certainly his. He then desired they might still look on them in the first light, assuring them, that his officers and men had received his express orders not to take one single article of apparel or property of any person's in the ship, from the highest class to the lowest ; that he was come only to pay the compliments of a visit, due to them ; and hoped they were so easy in themselves as to make him happy in their company. I must mention that in the first proposals of articles between the managers, officers, and crew, the commodore insisted that no cloaths or private ornaments, as watches, swords, rings, &c., should be taken as plunder from any enemy whatever, and that he should have it in his power at all and every time to say what should be deemed plunder, and what otherwise. This power in himself gave him liberty of exercising the natural promptings of his own disposition on these and the like occasions. It may be said, that we have laboured in giving remarks of two of the most polite people in Europe, taken only from the middle class, viz. from those mostly concerned in trade. In the first place, I take my remarks only from the opportunities given me ; but in the next, I believe I shall find seconds to my opinion, that such are the best objects from whence to draw the general character of the whole. They are the part of the people most conversant in men and women and things, of a general education above the vulgar, and yet removed from the exact tutorship of art or fashion ; the politeness intimate to courts being a lesson taught by policy in all governments alike ; and the motions of the vulgar generally ruled by their national prejudices, peculiar to all countries. However, we shall have done with remarking and speak only the facts as they happened.

Their behaviour on this occasion of his generosity was above the common manner of expressing themselves obliged. They endeavoured at making it entertaining,

with a familiar sincerity of shewing their love to him, as their benefactor. Thus they brought to him the various specimens of their wines, preserved fruits, &c., giving him an account of each sort and qualities, as taking a pleasure in his becoming master of them. They introduced their voices, lutes, and histories of themselves. In all of which they were so significantly entertaining, that they fully answered his request, in making him happy in their company. Mr. Walker then invited them on board his ship, where we must allow him some vanity in setting out the liberality of English entertainment to foreigners : and, leaving it to the imagination of the reader, shall say no more of it here, nor introduce it in any other more proper place.

The next morning after this, Mr. Walker's first visit, the prize's boat came on board. We imagined something extraordinary had happened, when we were told, they brought a present for the commodore ; we all crowded to the sides, where a present from one of the Spanish ladies was produced of a favourite lap-dog.

Parturiunt montes, et nascitur ridiculus mus.

Great promises our expectations chouse :

A mountain labours, and is born a mouse.

(At least a dog not much bigger than one).

The ladies of Spain have still a custom, which was once fashionable in England, of being particularly fond of the small spaniel breed of lap-dogs, which are doubtless very beautiful creatures of their kind ; and each fair one has a number of favourites. Among the croud that were shewn Mr. Walker, for their great beauty and other perfections, was one in particular of exquisite shape and smallness, not being larger, tho' at its full growth, than to be hid between the palms of a person's hands. Having taken particular notice of this, as a curiosity in its kind, (more with design of pleasing its fair owner, who was likewise a beauty in her kind, than depriving her of any pleasure ; but the best intended compliment may sometimes mistake its aim) the generous-hearted mistress thinking it but a recompence for all his civilities, in her abundant complaisance, thought

herself obliged in gratitude to send it to him as a present, tho' of more value than any other jewel in the ship ; the interview of parting with it having been, as we were afterwards told, very affecting. The commodore could not but send back great acknowledgments of the obligation ; and, as he imagined the young canine gentleman to be a little consumptive, he took particular care of his health in giving him goat's milk for breakfast, having a couple of goats aboard. But in private life, as in courts, favourites seldom agree too near each other ; for having another favourite on board, a Chinese monkey of great humour and capacity, which had been given by some of the officers of the *East Indiamen*, the creature, whether out of envy at seeing such care taken of the other, or love of the little animal, the next day caught him up in his arms, at a time when nobody was in the cabin, and run with him up to the yard-arm ; where he sat, keeping him in great submission by boxing him in the ear, whenever he dared to murmur at his state, and played a thousand antic tricks with him, to the laughter of the common men and pain of Mr. Walker, for fear of some fatal accident. The only hopes for its escape were that he would throw it into the sea, and the men, seeing the commodore anxious for its preservation, proposed getting out the boat, in such case to save it ; and were absolutely getting it over, when, after various inducements offered to the monkey, to intice him down with his new charge, at last a china bason of milk being brought, and ordered to be set in his view on the deck, immediately the man-imitating creature came down, and bringing safe his little play-fellow, set it to the bowl to drink. But the dog, whether thro' the effects of his former fright, or grieving in the loss of his more indulgent mistress, at the hard change of such treatment, who being herself unskilful in the art of rope-dancing, had never led him over such a dangerous tract ; or whether hurt in one of the close hugs of affection, or reprimanding blows of the tutorizing monkey, or without any accounting for it at all, grew sullen and died in a day or two after.

It may be censured as trifling in a history of military actions to introduce a story of a dog and monkey. I

have before mentioned that I mean only a conversation with my friends ; the great freedom and pleasing ease of which consist in a variety of subjects and lesser digressions in the midst of serious. As, therefore, I take a pleasure in company, if I have at any time in this narrative entertained them, I hope to be favoured by their good nature in this endeavour also. Besides, as my intent is to give the character of my friend, the particular parts are often better gathered from the lower incidents of life than the greater.

The death of Alexander, for such our little hero was called, threw our commodore into much concern of thought what excuse to make to the unhappy mistress ; especially as she was in a few days to come on board, and would expect to have her former favourite introduced. Whatever some readers may think, I hope to be joined by others, in asserting it to be a point of great difficulty to manage. Mr. Walker held a consultation of the Spanish gentlemen aboard, who had seen the accident, all of whom owned its disaster very difficult of remedy, and beyond their capacities of relief. At length, to put the living delinquent in the dead hero's place, was thought the only means of alleviating the grief that was known would flow ; for where a generous mind is raised to resentment nothing so soon appeases it to forgiveness as putting the object of its anger within its power ; which should it here become a new favourite was also the surest way of forgetting the old. With this view Pug was sent a present in return, with a directed card to his new mistress, which was put into his hand as he entered the room, with these words in French : " I come to die if you decree it." All other faults being kept a secret, this raised on their side many arguments of enquiry about the meaning, which was too soon cleared up ; however, Pug was kindly received, and he immediately exerted his station of private tutor to the whole family of dogs ; and being very soon necessary in his office, particularly in the art of fleaing, grew into great favour. Our chief surgeon (who was the same gentleman who was with us at the loss of the *Boscawen*) in his usual good humour, thought of a means of shewing

a further compliment to the fair one, in making up some part of her loss ; whose beauty, by all report to him, was so deserving of being obliged, else I much doubt whether all this work of pacification had thus been studied. This was to have the skin stuffed ; so ordering one of his young men to perform the office of skinning, the whole society of Spanish and English gentlemen took on themselves that of stuffing ; and the dead hero was in effigy set on his feet again, in all his wonted beauty and apparel. When the expected visit arrived, and the sad account was given of his death, he was brought to his mistress, and receiving kisses from her lips, of whose happiness, alas, he was not now sensible, was wetted with some drops from her beauteous eyes, now like a sky, o'ersworn with rain. Mr. Walker soon saw nothing would be so great a consolement to her for the loss of Alexander living as Alexander dead. She accepted him back with all the confessions of obligations, and said, she ever would be convinced of the humanity of the English, though in so small an instance, from the great respect paid to so pretty a little being.

However trifling the whole may be, it turned out a material benefit to the gentleman we spoke of, our surgeon : for, induced from the beauty and neat proportion of the limbs, he anatomized the remains, which seemed a piece of exquisite workmanship in his art. This being particularly admired by one of the principal Spanish merchants on board, a young gentleman, our surgeon presented it to him, which so obliged him that he took a very fine yellow diamond ring off his finger, and insisted on his wearing it ; as the occasion of this, we are told with the smiles of some of the other gentlemen, that the young merchant was a professed lover of the beautiful fair one. What tender use or introduction he made of them afterwards, we cannot say ; but as the acts of greatest moment often rise out of accidents of very trifling and seeming distant concern, so, if I could with assurance say (what however for story's sake, we will suppose) that such regard in him to his mistress's deceased favourite, raised in her a good opinion of his love to her, we shall think the death of Alexander planned by fate,

and that the story of the dog and monkey has in the end a moral.

It was not the commodore's intent to have gone himself to Lisbon, or to have called in the fleet thither ; as by the accounts received from Faro, he expected some more of the like ships to sail from Cadiz. But when we came as far as was intended on our convoy, a direct storm forced us all in.

CHAPTER XV

The disposing of our prisoners ; new intelligence from Faro, and Mr. Walker's policy thereon ; taking the Nympha ; account of the prisoners ; landing them at Belem ; a conspiracy to end the cruize, and the end thereof

WHEN we came into Lisbon, the prisoners were immediately given up to our ambassador, Sir Benjamin Keene,¹ and the consul there ; for by cartel settled between the English and Spaniards, all prisoners were to be returned to each party as soon as possible.

The commodore performed here a master-stroke of policy, of the French sort ; in which the subjects of that nation are so expert that what we treat as a science they have brought down by practice to an art or knack ; for, having introduced the Spanish captain and supercargo to Messrs. Mawman and Macey, to treat of the ransom of the ship, the Spanish gentleman, in consequence of that treaty agreed to, set out immediately for Cadiz to the India company there, giving great assurances of their expedition and intended return, in six weeks, with an order for the ransom. Mr.

¹ Sir Benjamin Keene (1697-1757) was Minister at Madrid, 1727 ; and was at one time M.P. for Maldon and later for West Looe. In 1746 he was sent as envoy extraordinary to Portugal with instructions to bring about a peace with Spain. In October 1748 he quitted Lisbon and returned to Madrid, where he died. Horace Walpole described him as " one of the best kind of agreeable men, quite fat and easy, with universal knowledge."

Walker, who had got new intelligence by his tender from his spy at Faro, to whom he had instantly sent on our return hither, that two very rich Register-ships, the *St. George* and *Nympha*, were then waiting in the Bay of Cadiz, ready to sail ; but that information of our fleet being at sea, having reached their ears, they were afraid to go out. He told the captain and supercargo, that if their return did not exceed the time mentioned he would wait for them at Lisbon ; for, as he wanted water, and as his ships were foul, he had some matters to do to his fleet ; wisely judging that the moment they at Cadiz were convinced, by the assurances of the aforesaid captain and supercargo that his ships were laid up at Lisbon, they would seize the opportunity of running out. Accordingly, the day before they set off he unbent all the sails in the whole squadron, struck the top-masts and yards, and made every seeming preparation of refitting, to the wonder and amazement of both officers and men, who thought the orders very ill-timed, and were at a loss for the reason of them.

The Spanish captain, supercargo, and the rest of the gentlemen and ladies instantly set out for Cadiz, across the country, with their usual compliments of taking leave ; not so much as the monkey left behind. Mr. Walker, calculating the time when the captain and supercargo would reach Cadiz, he the same morning in which he imagined them arrived there, made signals for the whole fleet to get up top-masts and yards, and to make all other necessary dispositions for immediate sailing. All which was compleated in less than six hours. Thus he again set sail, February 3, 1746-7, having concerned himself no more with the prize or ransom than in writing a letter home to the managers with an account of the news ; leaving the whole care and disposal of it to the present charge of the agents, Messrs. Mawman and Macey.

This sudden departure was as unexpected as the foregoing delay appeared unaccountable. But when we got to sea, the commodore made signal for all the other captains to come on board : he then informed them of his scheme and purpose, which were again soon com-



Capture of the *Nympha* by the Royal Family Privateers, February, 1746.

From Boydell's engraving of the painting by Charles Brooking.

ALLFARTHING LANE,
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municated by them to the fleet, and gave a general satisfaction from the great probability of the success.

We had not been upwards of twenty-four hours in our station before we discovered, February the ninth, a large sail to windward, to which the whole fleet gave chase. As there was little wind, and night was coming on, the commodore fitted out the *Prince Edward* tender with a number of men, and ordered her to row up to the chase. The barge, also, was hoisted out, with the first lieutenant and captain of marines, and sent after. We did not come up with her that night : in the morning she appeared about three leagues quite ahead. At last the tender and barge visibly gaining upon her, and our fleet keeping as much sail as we could, they surmised who we were, and she struck her colours without firing one gun.

She was one of the very ships we before spoke of, the *Nympha*, eight hundred tons, thirty-six guns, two hundred and sixty men ; her value above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, having near one hundred and fifteen tons of quicksilver on board. For the event happened as we expected. The Spaniards, on the above report of the captain and supercargo, made use of the opportunity that seemed to favour them and both ships, she and the *St. George*, sailed out immediately. The next morning after they sailed, they both fell in with the *Jersey* man-of-war, Captain Hardy, to whom the *Saint George* struck ; but the *Nympha* escaped from him, by flying into the arms of those who had the best right to her.

This circumstance has been lately related to some friends before Mr. Walker, who seemed to express a concern at the loss of the other ship, in her being so accidentally intercepted, as it was owing to his scheme she was brought out of port, and as therefore she ought to have fallen to his lot, the reward of his policy. His answer was he was much better pleased that she happened into the hands she did, as she thereby made happy a gentleman well deserving her, and consequently many families ; whereas had he got her, she had not prevented his present state. What the reason

was of his so saying I cannot determine ; but it must point either to his own extravagance in spending it when got, or to his never getting it at all.

Such a quantity of quicksilver to be transported to the West Indies, may well authorize the question about the use of it. It has been a received opinion, still suspected by some people, that the Jesuits abroad have the art or secret of fixing it into pure silver. This certainly is a mistake, as in the first place they do not appear to have any great notion of alchemy or the power of metals ; in the next, quicksilver is nearer allied to gold than silver, being of all bodies next in weight to the former, and having by its constitution of parts the softness of the first, it cannot, though fixed, be so altered in them as to attain the hardness and clear ring or sound of the other, without too great an alloy : so such fixation would fail of its purpose. The great use, as I have been informed, which they make of it is in collecting their gold, which in most parts of Mexico is lodged in an ore, and not so separately formed as in the sands of Africa and other places ; its fine particles being intimately mixed with its bed of coarser matter, so as not to be divisible from it by washing. They therefore put the ore into large tubs, and pouring on it a proper weight of quicksilver, they stir them round together by sticks or engines of great violence ; until the mercury, working itself into the pores of the ore, separates it minutely ; and, whilst it abhors mixing with the earthy substances, it by a natural attraction draws, or gathers the gold into its own body, making an amalgama or kind of paste of the gold in itself ; which, as the workmen then begin to wash off the lighter earthy matter, still settles to the bottom. Afterwards, by putting this on the fire the quicksilver flies off, and the gold remains pure ; which, if endeavoured to be forced in the fire in its first state, would demand so strong a heat, as instead of burning away the earth, would vitrify or turn it into glass, in which the gold would for ever mix, making it become a kind of stone ; no doubt very beautiful, as in the lapis lazuli, and which I should be very glad to see tried.

From the value of so large a quantity of quicksilver, which was, at the common market-price, worth upwards of sixty thousand pounds, we may judge the great wealth of the Spanish mines; when this rich commodity is only used as a drug or menstruum to their work, and is always lost in the fire.¹ But though it has the power of making gold abroad, yet our managers have proved it to have no such power in Europe. But of this in its place.

A whimsical surprize happened in the interview, as I may call it, between the *Nympha* and our ship. Some of the gentlemen and ladies on board, and many of the men, were the same before taken by us in the former ship, who immediately on their arrival at Cadiz, put themselves on board either the *St. George* or *Nympha*, to save their passage to the West Indies: thus we here again picked up our old acquaintances, who thought less of seeing us than any one friend or foe upon the seas; for certainly they did not know in which character to place us, as we indeed were in a capacity of both. One of the men, seeing themselves a second time so soon into our hands, said, "O good seignior Englishman! it is very comical indeed, you make as much haste to take us as we make haste to be taken."

The commodore went also on board this prize, and the same complaisance and ceremonies of civility were here again acted over. Of the gentlemen who were left on board the Spanish ship the commodore took care

¹ Quicksilver, or Mercury, one of the so-called "noble" metals, is used in the extraction of gold and silver from their ores by the process of amalgamation. "After the introduction of this process by a Mexican miner in 1556 the Spanish government shrewdly declared the export of quicksilver a monopoly of the Crown. The new method was found so profitable that it spread with extraordinary rapidity, and the sale of mercury in the New World grew to be a lucrative source of income. As the steady flow of silver from the mines of Mexico and Upper Peru became essential to the maintenance of a bankrupt government, so, conversely, an uninterrupted supply of mercury to these colonies was one of the government's most immediate concerns. In fact, as most European goods were paid for in bullion, the very continuance of Spanish American trade seemed to depend on it." (Haring. *Op. cit.*)

to leave the young merchant among the list of those proper to take care of the ladies, which seemed to give no little pleasure to the former mistress of the now forgotten Alexander. Pug was again introduced to his old master, and the joy which several of the ladies expressed in seeing Mr. Walker, with the seeming familiarity of friendship that passed between them, caused much surprise and amazement in the bystanders, who were new passengers aboard ; but as all were treated with like civility, they all grew equally easy in the acquaintanceship.

This prize also the commodore resolved to convey to the former one at Lisbon ; for our cruise being near expired the going home with her, and the returning to our station, would have taken up the remaining time ; besides, Lisbon was, by the after orders of the managers, destined our port of discharge. Mr. Riddle being now pretty well recovered of his wounds, the commodore gave him the command of the prize ; and now again we became convoy to our own treasure, and steered away for Lisbon. Mr. Riddle on the eleventh of February, made signals of seeing the land ; and on the thirteenth, the passengers at their own desire were all landed at Belem : whither, at their further request, the commodore and some of his officers attended and accompanied them to the cathedral, which is a very antient and fine structure, as they said they were going to bespeak of an English saint there a more prosperous voyage against the next time of their putting to sea. In this cathedral, Catherine, queen to king Charles the Second, lies buried to whom, she being canonized a saint, they prayed, that she would hinder the English (supposing her still to have an interest and authority over us) from intercepting them any more in their intended voyage.

The commodore took occasion afterwards at dinner, to remark in an easy pleasantry on the wrong policy of their countrymen, in placing the other ship under the tutelar safety of Saint George, the peculiar saint of England ; as it was certain he would betray them to his own countrymen. To this they agreed, as being

very short-sighted in them ; which made way for the conclusion that if so, those statesmen in heaven have yet their separate interests in this world. Alas ! to consider the insults given to the Deity in the misusings of their reason, which we ourselves have seen in this little circle of things, among people under a tyrannic government of religion, is productive of fear ; lest, as their country's senses come in time to themselves, they may misdoubt the whole system. For in it, as by individuals, if a man be found to have a trick of telling lies, he can hardly find faith in truth ever after.

On the fifteenth, Captain Riddle departed with the prize to Lisbon, taking letters from the commodore to be delivered to the agents there, and we went back to our station. But on the twenty-second, the commodore drawing back again towards land, the next day, we being about three leagues distant from the rock of Lisbon,¹ Mr. Macey, one of the agents, came on board to congratulate the commodore on his sending in the late prize ; or rather by appointment, as we supposed from the aforesaid letters, to give him intelligence, thro' some directions the commodore had sent by Mr. Riddle for getting the same. He returned the same evening ; and we again bore away to sea. Between this and the twenty-eighth we chased several English privateers, a king's sloop, and some Dutch and Swedish ships, all whom we brought-to ; but the time was not yet arrived for the prize expected by the commodore to come in view ; and the cruise being near an end, he for such purpose endeavoured to spin it out as long as he could, and gave assurances of the great probability of his expectations, from certain intelligence which he had received. The men and most of the officers, all who now thought their fortune sent before them to Lisbon, desirous of following it, argued the cruise to be now at an end ; reckoning from the time of their first departure from England : but as the articles expressed the eight months cruise to mean

¹ Cape Roca, called by seamen the Rock of Lisbon, is the westernmost point of Portugal and of the continent of Europe. It is about 550 feet high, with bluff and steep cliffs.

being at sea, the commodore insisted that the time in harbour was not to be reckoned as part, but to be deducted from the whole ; which carried on the time of the cruise still farther. However, on the ninth of March, being informed of a design in the men the next day to give three cheers from each of the ships, as ending the cruise, he sent word to the captains of each ship to secure their arms, and also sent orders, wrote by himself, to be read publicly in every ship. The men were thus kept to their duty, more out of awe than inclination ; for the day after this the captain of the *Duke* sent their master in irons aboard us, being suspected of cutting the gun-tackles and britchings,¹ in a late gale of wind ; and the next day, the *Frederick* sent their first and second lieutenants, also prisoners, and seven men, for insisting in a mutinous manner on breaking up the cruise. These were all detained for trial, and on the fifteenth a court-martial was held of all the captains on the two lieutenants ; one of whom was broke, but on petition restored ; and the men also, tho' on trial found guilty, were forgiven ; as now in fact by all consent the cruise grew near an end, and the commodore said, he wished to end it without having one dissatisfied man in the fleet. And now, the twenty-fifth of March, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven arrived, at which time the cruise ended according to the commodore's own computation ; when he broke it up, the men all in health and high spirits ; and tho' glad of its being ended, the joy was in the notion of our having had enough of fortune ; and thus we set sail for Lisbon.

When we came into Lisbon, we found there all our Spanish acquaintances. By some delay in the cartel they had not been sent forward so soon as the former time. They came amongst several of the town to

¹ Breeching, a strong rope passing through at the cascabel of a gun and secured at the ship's side, to check the recoil of the gun when fired. It was of sufficient length to let the muzzle of the gun come within board to be loaded. If the breechings and tackles were cut the guns would take charge and cause immense damage.

congratulate us on our arrival ; and the ladies boasted to us, in return for our former jokes, of their superior interest with our English Queen Catherine, who had forbid our intercepting any more of their ships.

We will just send them off to Spain, and then conclude. During the short time of their stay, we afterwards had several mutual invitations and parties of pleasure. They made one grand entertainment for us in particular, to which were invited several Portuguese noblemen and merchants, our own agents and others ; we had musick and a ball. The Spanish ladies and gentlemen dressed themselves out in their richest habits and jewels, on purpose of making a public acknowledgment of them or Mr. Walker. The captain and supercargo of the *Buen Consejo* were also there, returned from their negotiation from Spain ; and in great pleasantry and lively satire of the company, were called the two intelligencers of the *Royal Family*. This public respect from our enemies did the commodore some compliment in the place. They next day took leave, which hindered the civility being returned, making great assurances of their endeavours for life, to cultivate the natural good opinion, they said, ought for mutual interest to exist between their nation and ours ; and lamented the French policy, which could so artfully draw a curtain of fictitious story-painting (as they termed it) across the views of both countries ; which, they said, they hoped in time would be removed.

A few weeks later, a diamond ring was sent to the commodore at Lisbon, from some of the public officers of the court of Spain, in the direction of their Register-fleet. It was computed at about thirty moidores¹ value ; but the motto was the intended payment of their respect, couched within the outward present of a ring ; which Mr. Walker has forbid me to transcribe. And, after the peace, some English and Irish gentlemen, who were in the present fleet under Mr. Walker, having occasion to go to Spain, particularly Mr. Kennaway, our surgeon-general, before spoken of, and others,

¹ A gold coin of Portugal, current in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its approximate value was 27 shillings.

asked letters of recommendation from him to some houses there, whose directions these grateful people had put into his hand. The civil reception they met with, the good offices shewn to such his letters are too much to mention ; but to speak as much to the purpose in fewer words, each person so recommended made fortunes amongst them, except Mr. Kennaway, whose good understanding and boldness of speech always stood in his way of preferment, especially in a popish country. If our readers from these returns of favours draw a supposition how easy a right understanding may be cultivated between that nation and ourselves, these particulars may appear less tedious, and the consideration of them will arise to public utility.

The *Nympha* was also put into the hands of Messrs. Mawman and Macey ; and thus our cruise of eight months ended, with taking four prizes, then valued at a reasonable estimation, greatly upwards of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds, without the loss of one man killed.

THE SECOND CRUISE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

PRIVATE SHIPS OF WAR

CHAPTER XVI

The fitting out the fleet ; the behaviour of the men ; change of officers ; the wreck of a Lisbon packet ; a new dispute and story in religion ; the compliment of the sea-men to the Portuguese court ; a strange exorcism, or casting out a devil

BY the former articles of agreement with the managers, the last cruise was to have ended at the port of London ; yet as they had resolved upon sending out the same ships on a second cruise, it was thought most prudent to refit them at Lisbon ; as thereby, being nearer their station, less time would be lost, and especially as several conveniences could be had there cheaper and easier than at London. The croud also of English and Irish vessels always trafficking there, afford great numbers of men who have no need of secreting themselves for fear of being pressed : for there never was but one instance of a press at Lisbon for English seamen, within the time of Mr. Walker's knowledge of the place ; even this was occasioned by some cause of very great emergency, and had given such umbrage to the Portuguese Court as to put the expectation of another past all fear.

However, though all these advantages may be a proof of the good policy of the managers, Mr. Walker foresaw one great inconvenience, as to the danger of desertion, by the men being set adrift in a foreign port ; which they at home did not think of, at least the

remedy and care of it lay intirely with him. And therefore, when the ships were brought into the Tagus, and were safely moored and unrigged (which was done in less than three hours, to the surprise of the whole town), he went on board each of them and returning thanks to the several crews, in behalf of themselves and owners, for their faithful services, told them, that the managers, upon the account of the late success, had agreed upon fitting the fleet out on a second cruise, and had thought proper to end the present one there, that the ships might be more ready in proceeding to sea, and be sooner at their station ; that he hoped most of them who approved of him as a commander would continue with him in the service ; that such of them as would again enter and help in equipping the fleet should, besides their entrance-money, be put on regular wages ; that such who chose to be on shore should be supplied with further monies on account, during the time of their stay ; and that they who desired to go home should be sent away in one of the vessels at the expence of the owners, but that he asked one favour of them as British subjects : that none would think idly of staying there, or going into the service of any other country but their own ; as they now were all men of property, and such desertion would be a forfeiture of it.

Every ship's crew in general declared their approbation of his command, and said they would go with him so long as his ship could swim, such was their general phrase. This was more than was expected. Accordingly, after regaling themselves a few days a-shore, when Messrs. Mawman and Macey had got ready the proper articles (which they themselves signed in behalf of the managers, as their agents) above two-thirds of the men entered themselves for another eight months' cruise ; and everything was put forward for the sea with the greatest expedition. A sufficient number of them took the wages, and set to work upon equipping the ships. A few, indeed, of the men who had entered, following some idle ones who had not, after selling their shares of the prizes, went off to the Spaniards,

mostly seduced by some emissaries belonging to that Court, who for such purpose usually ply at Lisbon. Whereupon Mr. Walker, as he had spies ready set, fearing the occasion, immediately applied to Sir Benjamin Keene, who readily assisted in getting an order for apprehending them ; by which they were brought back and secured in the trunk or prison. They, only, who had entered and received the advance money and afterwards deserted, were kept prisoners until the time of our sailing ; and those who had not, Mr. Walker took care to see embarked for England by the first opportunity. This conduct has been maliciously mistold, to the discredit both of the managers and Mr. Walker, by one Goddard, an agent for the people. Of which more shall be said hereafter. As to the remainder, being upwards of eight hundred men, no such class of people ever behaved better, remarkable for cleanliness and an honest spirit. They drest in a uniform cockade, to distinguish themselves ; and the whole time of their refitting, which was near three months, not a complaint was made against them, not a broil or accident happened, except a dispute which one of our officers had in point of religion with some popish priests, and which had like to have sent him to the Inquisition, as shall be hereafter related, for the purpose more of shewing the cause of such censure than any great entertainment in the matter itself. But we must first mention some other circumstances which happened.

Captain Bromedge of the *Prince Frederick*, and Captain Green of the *Prince George*, not chusing to continue the sea any longer, as they thought they had already made a sufficiency for life ; and Mr. Shaftoe, being offered the command of a trading vessel belonging to the Portuguese ; they severally desired to lay down their commissions ; and as Mr. Walker had an intire power of making or displacing all officers under his command, he removed Captain Dottin, who had given many proofs of his good capacity, from the *Duke* into the *Prince Frederick* ; Captain Denham from the *Princess Amelia* into the *Duke* ; and gave Mr. Riddle, the gentleman who had so bravely distinguished himself

in cutting out the vessel from Saffia-bay, the command of the *Princess Amelia* ; and Mr. Davidson, one of his lieutenants, the command of the *Prince George* ; and Mr. Hamilton, another of his lieutenants, the command of the *Prince Edward* ; and preferred the lieutenants of the other ships, and several of the midshipmen, according to their seniority and merit. Numbers also of young gentlemen were sent from England, with letters of recommendation from their friends to Mr. Walker, for commissions, and as volunteers and midshipmen. Out of these all other vacancies were filled up. He then sent home for new letters of marque for each of the ships, who were thus given new commanders ; whereby also the *Prince George* tender now ranked with the fleet as a cruising ship. Which new commissions were all regularly sent back to him, in the names of the above gentlemen. The *Prince Edward* remained in her former station and duty as an intelligence boat or tender, for transporting stores from one ship to another ; which accustomed use of her the said ingenious Mr. Goddard has endeavoured to represent to the legislature as a piratical act in the managers and Mr. Walker, for introducing her into the fleet without a commission. So weak are tales which envy and malice will often tell to indulge their own spleen or intentions !

The allowance agreed to by the managers for the men out of the prize-money was ten moidores each, including their entrance-money. This not being sufficient for a three months' stay, Mr. Walker, whose credit was now also established with the agents on his own footing, to avoid sending home to alter instructions, took up sums on his own account as the men wanted more money, and so lent it to them, taking their notes or receipts for the same. By this means he knew their spendings, and being thereby a kind of check on them, almost fixed them to an allowance. This was a great good to the men, an ease and benefit to the managers, but a loss to himself. Of which in its place.

As to our provisions, the managers at home engaged to send them to us from England by the time calculated

that the fleet would be ready for the sea : but they not coming according to their own promises, and after our depending on them so long that the delay threatened a greater loss than the value of them, the agents thought it best to buy provisions at Lisbon, sufficient for four months, as we could not venture to sea with a less quantity, and as we should return in that time for those from England. This was done, and most of the provisions put on board, when a few days before we were ready to sail the two transports with eight months' provisions arrived from England, dearer and worse than what we bought at Lisbon. We then took in our full complement from the English stores, intending at the above expiration to put in again to Lisbon for the remainder.

This expence so greatly swelling the charges at Lisbon has been ill-naturedly set down by public report to the bad economy of Mr. Walker, but is a subject which can be greatly enlarged on, to his exoneration.

It may be asked, what became of the negociation of the Spanish captain and supercargo, relating to the ransom of the *Buen Consejo*, or how the prizes were disposed of ? This was at present no business of ours, but of the managers : ours being only to take prizes, theirs to dispose of them as well as they could.

During the time of our refitting, an English packet-boat, the *King George*, struck in going over the bar, and was lost near the wooden fort on the south side. As we then were lying below the castle of Belem, we had immediate opportunity of seeing her distress. The commodore quickly sent the *Prince Edward* tender, and four of our boats, well-manned, to her assistance. They were just in time to save all the people, the mail, some valuables, and all the money, to a very considerable sum. But here a catastrophe happened : poor Cabel, the witty conductor of the plot of getting the men from the Exeter privateers for the *Boscawen* and other ships at Dartmouth, in saving the money from his packet, let a little part of it fall into his own pockets. He certainly deserved some reward for his brisk agility in preserving it ; but, alas ! the world will allow no

rewards but what come from its own giving : self-rewards are thought to be taking that power out of its hands, and are therefore often punished as a theft. 'Tis therefore, I imagine, the philosophers allowed one thing only to be its own reward, namely virtue ; because it is generally left unrewarded by the world. This affair having been found out by a quarrel in the distribution, in which were also involved an officer and two other men, the commodore first collected the money to the amount of about fifty pounds, and sent it to the captain of the packet ; and at the same time having secured his pardon for the delinquents, he dismissed them with disgrace. Indeed they all desired leave to withdraw ; for though it may appear wonderful to tell, the crime was universally disclaimed against by our whole crew. To such a regularity of mind had the regularity of action at last brought the whole !

The affair, which happened in a dispute about religion, is this. There is an assembly of priests very near Lisbon, several of them Irish, impowered by public contributions to give cloaths and money to all whom they can gain as converts from any state to heresy to the doctrines of their own church. Hither some of our crew in frolic went, to be white-washed, as the phrase is amongst them for this new inward and outward cloathing. But they, turning truants to the new doctrine, and coming back to us again, gave such a whimsical description of the method in which the priests treated them, that it raised the desire of Mr. Kennaway, our surgeon (a gentleman we before spoke of as a man of a lively turn of wit and expression) to go see the ceremony and manner. Accordingly, he drest himself in a common jacket, and taking some of the men with him as comrades he set out on the new pilgrimage. He told them, if he accepted their doctrine he would accept their cloathing : but had honour not to wear their livery, unless he entered truly into their service. This introduction, having an appearance of well meaning, was greatly applauded by the reverend fathers. But, alas ! he made another discovery to them, a little more astonishing, which was, that he had no religion

at all ; and so begged them to begin with him from the first in a regular course of instruction. This was but meer humour in him ; his father having originally intended him for a clergyman, and versed him well in texts of scripture ; sufficient, if not to fix the grounds of any religion, to make him a disputant in all. It had the effect he intended, by putting them to a confusion how to proceed with him in a general plan ; the priests of the Romish persuasion being observed to be more industrious of finding arguments in defence of their own particular church against the various systems set up in opposition to their political schemes or designs, and in support of forms and ceremonies, than in comprehending and explaining any connected doctrine of reason and sense, instructive to a pure understanding.

I shall not enter into any discussion of their several propositions and arguments, questions and answers, but shall, under favour, relate one of his stories, as he told it to the priests, by way of example to one of his arguments, because I think it has in it a great deal of humour and good sense, in all probability the ready invention of his own brain.

“ There were,” says he, “ a Romish monk, a Russian priest, a Presbyterian, a Quaker, a Moravian methodist, and a poor transported Protestant clergyman, all in one ship, going a voyage to the West Indies ; but being bound to Africa to take in slaves, they were met by a storm, and wrecked much lower down the coasts than where the trade generally reached to. The black king of the place received them into his kingdom with great civility, and being all white men and calling themselves each by the common name of Christian, he imagined them all the same people, and provided for them in places about him. When they got into employment and had learned the language of the country they each offered to convert him and his people to the true religion. Upon which he ordered a certain day to be fixed to hear them argue on the new doctrine. The monk begun ; but before he had got to the third sentence— ‘ That’s a lie,’ cries the Russian priest, interrupting him. The black prince started at the contradiction :

however, they went on in opposing each other very loud and angry, till at last the Presbyterian took up the cudgels, and swore *that they both were sons of the whore of Babylon*. 'Hey day !' says the prince, 'another division among you ?' When the Moravian, fetching many groans as made his majesty and the whole court believe him in a fit of the gripes, brought forth : 'How wrathfully is my inward spirit moved at such diabolical preachings of this Presbyterian' : for he agreed (he said) with the two foregoing churches in all their stratagems, though he had found out a new light for performing them. Upon this the Quaker, also moved by passion, breaks out : 'Thou canting scoundrel ! thou pretend'st to a new light who art for leading other people in the dark !' The jargon then grew more promiscuous, to the great confusion of the royal judgment. But the king, whilst the rest were engaged in the dispute, at last spoke aside to the Protestant (who had not yet opened his mouth) desiring him to take himself and his brethren along with him out of his dominions, lest they should mention a word of this religion to his people. 'O please your majesty,' says the clergyman, 'though all these Christians be in the wrong, yet I alone am in the right, and can show your majesty and people the only true doctrine, which by my deportment you see is peace. These people are no other than different sects sprung from me or different opinions of one belief.' 'If that be the case,' replies the king, 'I must insist on your immediate departure : for I fear your doctrine admits of so many contradicting opinions you are not well assured of it yourself ; at least it is too dangerous a one to be introduced amongst my people, all of whom, I thank God, now live in brotherly union and affection.' The king then put them together in a bark, and judging the English priest the most temperate of the whole, he put the rudder into his hand to carry them safe to some port. Thus the true doctrine is denied gaining ground in the world by the various contradictions of the several teachers of it."

This story, being told with great force of application,



Wreck of the *Nympha*, near Beachy Head, November, 1746.

From Boydell's engraving of the painting by Charles Brooking.

WYTHING LANE,
PUBLIC LIBRARY

and all the advantages of a peculiar dialect to the several persons of the drama (at which merit we do not pretend in the writing) made the assembly of ghostly fathers so very angry at one of the poor natural children of sense that where they certainly might have been informed they lost the moral. So much does prejudice or enthusiasm blind reason's eyes ! Upon the whole, he had too much power both of reason and wit to make it an equal contention. Where reason had scope for an advantage he pushed her against them, generally so well supported by wit that where they should have embraced information they only grew passionate, damned him for an heretic, an unbeliever, and offspring of the devil.

Had he stopped here all would have been well ; but his wit out-run his prudence. In short, he so provoked them by advancing plain sense against mystery that, when they found their whole superstructure overturned from off the foundation on which they had built it, they looked on him as an agent from the devil, and, calling him a blasphemer, absolutely took him into custody, and he was especially detained.

The rest of his companions returned home with a poor account of their expedition, to the commodore ; who next day went to see Sir Benjamin Keene, and found that the order of priests had instantly made complaint of the affair to the patriarch. He is the highest priest in power next the Pope in all the Christian world ; having been instituted by the king in direct opposition to the papal authority, on account of some political quarrel with that chair, who as politically soon made it up ; for it is said the payment for indulgencies alone granted to this country in the time of Lent, for eating eggs, etc., brings into that see upwards of an hundred thousand pounds sterling per year. However, though the Pope is again acknowledged supreme, this patriarch still holds up his first created grandeur, and is served by bishops on one knee. Their application to him was for leave to deliver over the heretic sailor to the Inquisition ; and it was believed he would be given up to that resentment, contrary to custom, tho' not

precedent, of meddling with English Protestants. But the matter being called before the king for his consent or approbation (as it was of a foreign nature) his majesty declared that the English subjects were free to enjoy their own way of thinking, and ordered him to be released.

Thus Mr. Kennaway, for this time, got off unhurt. I have mentioned that he was the only gentleman who of those going to Spain with recommendations from Mr. Walker who was obliged to return before he had compleated his purpose of making a fortune amongst them, which happened on account of a like accident to this, in visiting a friend of his, an English captain of a ship, in a fit of illness, round whom he found gathered a heap of priests, torturing the poor sick man's brains on all the various racks of extortion. With them he could not help taking up the argument, and managed it against them so much to the recovery of his friend's senses, as to have them all dismissed the house. On this a complaint having been made to the Inquisition, the governor of the place, with whom he had acquired a most friendly intimacy, sent him a letter with great privacy, wishing him a good journey, and expressing how sorry he was that their place or climate was too hot for his English constitution : on which he took the hint and made his escape. It is therefore very dangerous to venture at any church-reformation in those countries.

But to shew the spirit of our men on the above occasion, and in what a rank they rated themselves, I must mention a whimsical instance of their politeness. The Portugal court in this late order had so much obliged them that, as the accident happened a little before we were ready for sailing all the crews went in a body, to the number of upwards of eight hundred, drest neatly in new cockades, with musick playing before them to the palace-gates, to thank the king for his royal interposition in their favour ; and being by order let into an inner-court, the queen and prince came publickly to an open balcony, and received from them three cheers of thanks with very seeming pleasure. This was done without the previous knowledge of the commodore,

who the next day went to a particular nobleman at court, to whom he had the honour of being known, to excuse it to the king. His majesty assured him by the nobleman he took it in its true light of a civility; and as he was then indisposed, (for he was terribly afflicted with the palsy, being, as to all use of his limbs, quite dead on one side by it) desired Mr. Walker might be introduced to him on another day. But as the time fixed for our departure would not admit of a second visit, Mr. Walker was obliged to postpone that ceremony of honour intended him till another opportunity. His majesty thereupon sent out to him his good wishes for a prosperous and successful cruise.

We may suppose a great deal of the indulgence shewn in this late affair by the Court was owing to the active interest Mr. Walker made on the occasion, through Sir Benjamin Keene and some Portuguese noblemen, who had visited him during the time of our refitting, which has fixed no little or invaluable privilege to the English subjects.

When the ships were equipped several Portuguese companies came on board to see them, for as to neatness and order nothing of the kind could be superior. Mr. Walker was also particularly honoured in the acquaintance of the duke of Hamilton, who then was at Lisbon for his health. His grace frequently took the pleasures of the water, at which times, during our refitting, Mr. Walker often took the opportunity of carrying his grace in his own barge, attended by others with music, etc. We have heard that Mr. Walker has at home been censured for an elegance in his frequent entertainments. I will own them beyond the usual rank of his brother sea-captains, but if I may have leave to interpose my own judgment, what I always admitted as elegant and a compliment to the person invited, I could never censure as extravagant. He was always happy in the notice of people of fashion, and no wonder if others who envied him their company invent something to find fault with. However, the money he spent was solely his own, and the greatest entertainment he made was on the occasion of our compleating being equipped.

When his grace of Hamilton dined on board, Mr. Walker had five barges lying at the shore to receive him. As he was upon the water he was saluted by two of our king's ships, which were then lying in the river, and by all the ships of our own fleet, as he passed them. The salutes were with the small arms and manning of the ships, for by his Portuguese majesty's orders, no great guns are allowed to be fired above the castle of Belem. When the duke came in prospect of the *King George* we appeared with only our common ensign, jack, and pennant flying, but as he drew near the men being placed all over the several parts on the stays, yards, bowsprit, shrouds, and gunnels, with the different and various colours of all the maritime nations of the world rolled up in their hands, at the beat of a drum let them all fly in an instant, which hid the ship in a sudden metamorphosis, as in an heap of painted waves, and made an appearance in the transition very beautiful and striking. At which his grace expressed a pleasure that would have complimented a performance of greater merit; nor was his politeness less expressive as to other parts of the entertainment.

If it may not be thought too tedious a delay to stop the reader for an account of a very odd and strange exorcism, or casting out of a devil, which we were witnesses to, we will give a description of it for its novelty.

It may be asked why so many of our remarks concerning these countries are touching religion? We answer that in those Romish countries of Europe it is the chief thing attracts notice, other customs and manners being much the same as with us. Indeed, it is the most useful characteristic to be remarked to our countrymen, as in our superiority to it chiefly consists our superiority over them. We shall therefore tell it very shortly.

Mr. Walker attended his grace of Hamilton in a tour or party of pleasure about twenty-five or thirty miles from Lisbon, to Maffra and Sentrin,¹ at the first

¹ Mafra, 23 miles from Lisbon, is famous for its convent, the "Escorial of Portugal," an enormous four-storeyed rectangular

of which places is the greatest and most beautiful palace of modern architecture in the known world, being a palace, convent, and church all in one, built of white marble, highly polished on the inside and reckoned to have cost upwards of ten millions sterling. At the last is another of extream Gothic antiquity, and esteemed a work of equal curiosity of its kind, having been built by the Moors when they were in possession of the country. In which is a large hall of great extent, wherein are some hundreds of marble pillars, through which they used to perform their Moorish dances. The duke, after taking an attentive review of both these structures and their several curiosities returned to Lisbon. Mr. Walker and some of his company went forward to Calcavella, where was a priest famous for casting out devils. We were observers of the ceremony, it being performed in a public church. The subject he worked on was a young woman, who in one sense was no impostress, as she certainly imagined herself inwardly possessed with an evil demon. But how the spirit came there was as certainly owing to the prepossessions of the priest himself, who purposely terrified the poor creature into a belief of it.

The occasion was this. A family in the place being superstitiously affected at some accidents happening in the house, imagined it possessed with a devil, and sent for a priest to turn the devil out. The priest, searching the house for him, at last found him in the maid-servant. She, naturally alarmed thereat, and frightened to a degree of terror which reaches near the borders of frenzy, could not help feeling what he said he saw and conversed with in her, and at this operation, to which she was publicly brought, it was he who saw building, richly decorated with rare woods and marbles. It was built by John V, to celebrate the birth of his son, and was finished in 1730. The cost was over £4,000,000 and this expenditure went far to bring about the financial ruin of the country. Sentrin is obviously Cintra, $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Lisbon. Southey calls it "the most blessed spot in the habitable globe." It was fortified by the Moors, and in the twelfth century became the summer residence of the Kings of Portugal.

and spoke to the devil in her, not she who complained ; he, with sudden startings, frequently crying out, that the devil was now here in her, now there. Then he made pretences of whispering him, whilst at every word or touch the poor terrified creature shuddering in belief shrieked with fear, or scared from her senses dropt into swoons, or fell into fits or agonies of laughing, weeping, or convulsed insensibility. All which was beheld with admiration by the crowd as the violent tearings and workings of the spirit. When she recovered from the fit he was ready to throw her, still frightened and trembling, into another, till at last, judging by her passions (of which he seemed a cunning master, and in which his whole secret appears to us to consist) when was the proper time to produce the devil, he pulled him, as he said, with a roar out of her mouth, and saw him fly away, being the only man in the company who did. The poor girl, satisfied that the spirit was gone, began to recover, but was so weak and enfeebled that I dare say she took a woman's full time in such re-establishment of herself after this her delivery. The priest was thought to have done a great work, and was almost worshipped by the believing multitude as having performed an apostolic miracle. In which pretence he ran no risque of being detected of imposture, for if he had drove his patient into madness he had still been safe from the imputation, or even supposition of such practice, as the madness would have been attributed to the great power the devil had over her, which again would have been ascribed to her own sin.

The cheat was so very palpable to us that I cannot say whether we were moved more with anger at the villany of the pretending priest or pity at the blinded belief of the bystanding people. But in the doubt where to fix, we soon dropt our passions and recalled our thoughts to a consideration of ourselves, in thanks to God who had brought us into this world under his happier dispensation, or light of reason. The prospect of our enlightened country appeared before us, and we saw what we hope each individual in it will believe,

that a British peasant, born to liberty of mind as well as person, is, in his own state, a more noble existence of man than the rich potentates of those countries, whose minds have submitted from their youth to have the chains and shackles of prejudice and superstition upon them, and which they must ever after wear and drag on in old age as the slaves of priestly imposition, and of its associate, tyranny ; for the loss of the mind's freedom is the certain consequence of the general loss of liberty. Hence, let every human being of Britain know how great a treasure they have to defend in their own country, for should we know its loss the forfeiture of life would appear an easy price of repurchasing that natural right of our existence, to hand it down a blessing to posterity ; which they have also a further right in as we received it from our fathers.

CHAPTER XVII

The entire loss of the Prince Edward tender ; taking the St. Juan Baptista ; an account of the vice-roy on board ; taking two Spanish settees, and the engagement with the Glorioso, a Spanish man-of-war ; and our return to Lisbon

FRIDAY, July the 10th 1747, O.S. the commodore made signal to weigh. Our fleet were

Private Ships of War.

<i>The King George</i>	Commodore	} Capts.
<i>Prince Frederick</i>	Edward Dottin	
<i>Duke</i>	Rob. Denham	
<i>Princess Amelia</i>	Andrew Riddle	
<i>Prince George</i>	Fr. Davidson	
<i>Prince Edward tender</i>	Fred. Hamilton	

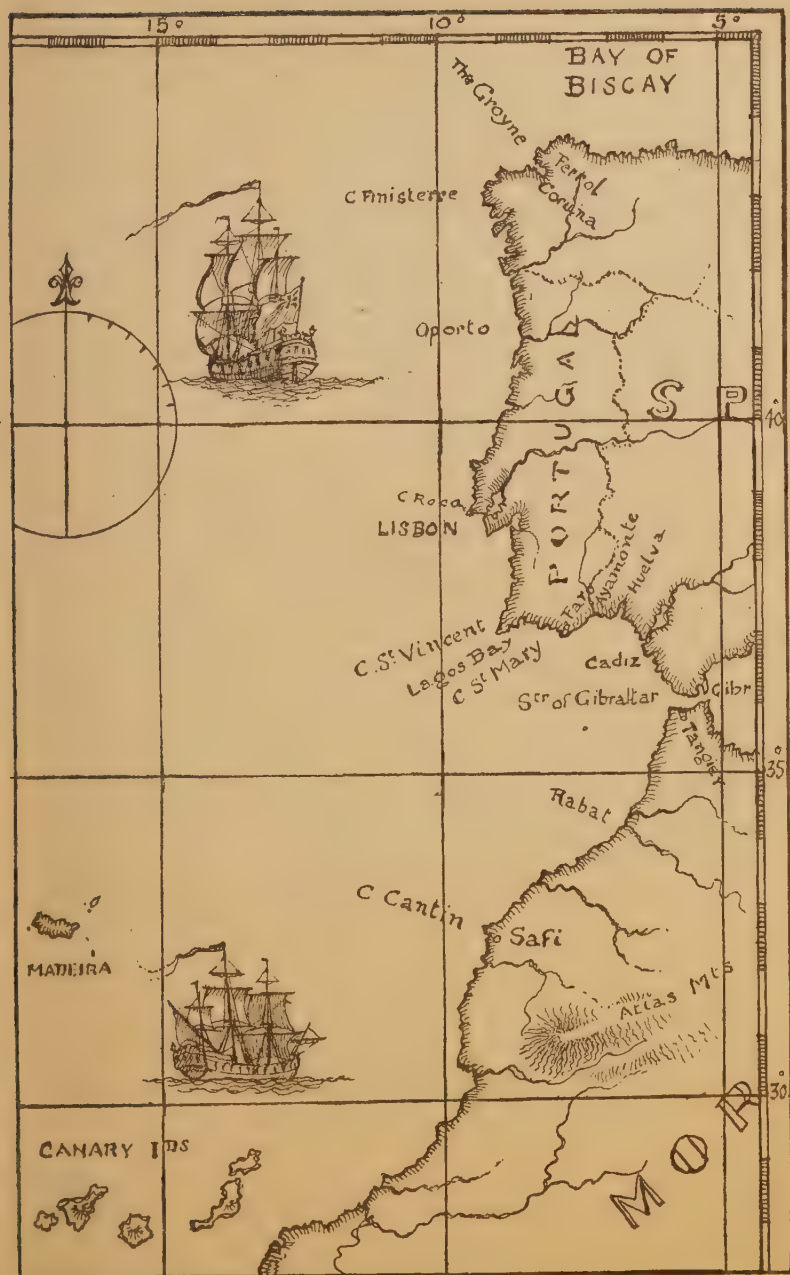
in the whole one hundred and fourteen carriage guns, besides swivels, and a compleat thousand men. Next day we proceeded to our station, which was to cruise between Cape Cantin on the Barbary coast and Cape St. Mary's ¹ on the Portugueseze.

¹ Cape St. Mary, Faro, the southernmost point of Portugal.

But almost as soon as we got to our station a fatal accident happened to the *Prince Edward* tender, for on the thirteenth, having the day before seen a large fleet of ships to the number of twenty, and being in close chace of them, as she crouded sail after us, we saw her on a sudden reel strangely in the water and then founder stern foremost, contrary to all other ships in sinking, as they generally go down by the head. All the boats were got out as soon as possible, but not withstanding every assistance, the only persons saved were Mr. Hamilton and two men, who kept themselves above water by their own swimming, till the boats got to them; all the rest perished to about ten. Surprising it is to think how deficient our common seamen in general are in that exercise, so very essential to their profession! This sad catastrophe was occasioned by her mainmast starting out of the step¹ in which it was placed, not having had sufficient hold thereof, for by the straining of it in crouding sail the heel slipt out, and then the mast again plunging downwards by the weight of the shrouds and sails upon it, run through her bottom and sunk her instantly; the weight of the mast slipping backwards sending her down by the stern as before described. The ships we were in chace of proved to be a fleet of Dutchmen under convoy of two men-of-war, sixty guns each, from Malaga to Lisbon.

Watching in our station, about 12 o'clock at noon, August the ninth, wind N.N.E. Cape Spartel bearing E. by N. distant about eight leagues, our ship was all on a sudden becalmed, and, as it were, struck motionless. Every ship also, as they came up one after another, having the wind with them to the spot where we lay becalmed, the moment they reached us, dropt their sails, and there we all lay as in a regular line of battle. As not a ruffle moved along the surface the

¹ The step was a clamp of timber fixed on the keelson, to form a socket to receive the tenoned heel of the mast. In this case, the vessel being fore and aft rigged, and straining on a wind, the single mast probably slipped out sideways as she heeled, tore a hole in the bottom as she righted, and then fell aft, parting its forestay.



Map of the privateers' cruising ground off Portugal and the Barbary coast
(Drawn by Herbert S. Vaughan)

sea became an intire mirror, and so continued most of the next day ; which, though a scene of surprizing beauty from the stillness of the whole, and the clear reflection of the ships and their breathless pennants in the water, yet the time appeared tedious even to an irksomeness, and our own silence at the occasion seemed to join the sleep of nature. The very music lost its sweetness and grew insipid, and every attempt in it to sprightliness in power failed ; which shews us the unhappiness of an inactive state, and that man is formed to be employed. When the wind sprung up a transport in us rose with it at our release from inactivity, as at being set free from an imprisonment.

At this time we struck a dolphin, which was not usual here, it being always in pursuit of the flying-fish who mostly frequent the Mediterranean and West-Indies ; and who, to avoid him, will often light upon the decks of ships. The dolphin, as it dies, changes to a thousand varying colours of exquisite fire and beauty. From its boldness or familiarity in following ships, the old fable of its great love to mankind may have taken rise, but as painters in the tradition of its figure which they have handed down to us seem to have mistaken its shape, describing it more like the seal, dog-headed and high-backed (whereas it is shaped most like the salmon, only longer and thinner) we may justly conclude the name has been misused or wrong applied. Some people conjecture that the fish meant by the dolphin is the porpoise, which species is equally familiar, and will follow a ship in great numbers for several days, and which, from its roll or play in the water, always appears curved, though a straight fish in itself : besides, the dolphin is of delicate flavour and very wholesome, which the others are not. This seems also to corroborate the above supposition, for, to my best recollection we have never heard of the ancients eating dolphin, and they seemed to search the earth, air, and seas for delicacies, with equal skill as the moderns. But what most of all favours the conjecture is that the true dolphin is seldom seen in the Mediterranean, whereas porpoises roll there in great numbers.

On the night of the seventeenth the *Prince George* tender did not answer the false fires made from the rest of the fleet, and being missing the next morning and the succeeding days, we imagined that through some distress she had turned back, or put into port. This was the greater loss to us on account of the former accident to the *Prince Edward*, as we had in frequent services experienced the use of these small tenders.

On the twentieth, about ten in the morning, in sight of the Barbary coast, we saw a strange sail to leeward, and made signals for chasing, but there being little or no wind we gained on her very slowly all that day. In the evening we hoisted out the barge and yawl, and sent them after her, lest she should alter her course in the night : so did the *Prince Frederick* and the *Duke* theirs. At five in the evening our yawl returned, not being able to keep ahead of the ship. We were still out of reach of the chase, but at eight the barges got up with her, when she fired two shots at them, which they returned with their small-arms ; but in an hour after we lost sight of both of our barges and the chase, they bearing W.S.W. about two miles distance ; for now the wind freshened and the weather grew cloudy. Violent lightnings also came on so as frequently to set the whole air at once in a flash of fire. At other times we saw the lightning at some distance pour down from the skies in pointed streams of fire, and the claps of thunder broke so loud and near us as made the scene terrible. Whether from the sound itself, or distant echoes of it I cannot say, but the noise sometimes seemed below us, which brought to my recollection at once the description and solution of the like circumstances, of a storm in the *Æneid*, where it says, " The poles thundered." Thank God ! we had here but half of that description to encounter, the wind not rising to any violence. About midnight it grew exceeding dark : we and the other ships made false fires for our barges, which were answered by some of them. A little afterwards the *Duke's* barge fell in with the *Prince Frederick*, and they hoisted her in ; the next morning we saw the chase again, and our barge attending her,

but no sight of the *Prince Frederick's*, wherein were fifteen of the best sailors of the ship : but as by the commodore's orders all boats sent upon these expeditions constantly took with them a store of water, some provisions, and a compass, in case of losing the ships by night or fogs, so it was hoped that these poor fellows being provided with all these necessaries would make some place of safety.

About six we came up with the chase, who did not strike her colours till the *Prince Frederick* had fired a fourth gun at her, which appeared the more perverse as the fleet was in view. She was the *St. Juan Baptista*, burthen eighty tons, a Spanish tartan,¹ from the Canaries bound to Cadiz, with money and cocoa ; which cargo was said to be part of the treasure of the *Hector* and *Henry*, the very ships which we before mentioned we were originally intended to go in quest of. Her money was not above six thousand pounds, but her other cargo was rich. The money was put on board the *King George*, and the cocoa and other valuable effects on board the other ships ; and Mr. Hamilton, who before had the command of the *Prince Edward* tender, was put on board the prize with a proper number of men. The captain of her was a Frenchman, who with two Spanish gentlemen, passengers, came on board the commodore. One of them was a vice-roy, a man of great fortune, who as the highest in rank was most humble of any through a sense of the civilities he received, and most ready in acknowledging them.

But the first care, after securing the prize, was to send in search of the poor fellows who were missing ; wherefore the commodore dispatched Captain Hamilton in the prize to the first port on the Portuguese shore, with letters of credit to be forwarded for them to the several correspondents at Faro, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, in hopes that they had got hold of some part of that shore : and in case they had been obliged to put over to the Morocco coast, he likewise gave further directions to the last correspondents to forward letters of

¹ See Introduction, note on page xli.

credit to Sallee and Santa Cruz ; and himself followed with the fleet, intending to water at Faro.

On the next day we chased three large sail of ships. They were the *Jersey* man-of-war, Captain Hardy, the *Spence* sloop, and *Enterprize* : who gave us the agreeable news of their having met the *Prince George* tender about eight days before, off Cape St. Mary's ; and two days afterward we received an account by another chase, that she and the Tartan prize were both safe at Faro. The same day, also, the *Prince Frederick* received the news by a ship she met of her barge being safe with all her crew at a Spanish port about ten leagues to the eastward of Faro, called High-mount.¹ They had been separated from our ships in that dreadful night by a hurricane, which caught them in particular ; and were out at sea eight days and nights, before they reached the shore : so that it was the great goodness of Providence which foretold them to take such provisions with them as they did. For as it was they were drove to the greatest hardships and terrors of mind, not having a morsel left them for the last day before they saw land, except some water and brandy, after have scanted themselves to a poor pittance for the former days, and at last they were obliged to submit themselves prisoners to an enemy's country.

On the twenty-fifth, the commodore stood in for Faro to water, when the *Prince George* joined us. Here we righted our ships, and proceeded to Lagos Bay, on purpose to land there the Spanish gentlemen, captain and prisoners. The commodore sent with the vice-roy, as a compliment of a guard, an equal number of the Spanish prisoners to be, when he got to High-mount (as it was the first Spanish town in his way homeward), exchanged for our men. And also begged him to deliver some letters of credit, which carried orders for them, when the cartel was settled, to come round to him at Lisbon ; for it would have trespassed

¹ By High Mount the writer means Ayamonte, a fortified town and seaport of Spain, on the left bank of the Guadiana, at its mouth, and 23 miles west of Huelva.

too far on the time of our cruise to have waited for them till they could have come to Faro.

This gentleman, when aboard, took great pleasure in observing the behaviour and customs of the common seamen, and expressed his approbation of many particularities in them, not out of meer complaisance, but always giving very sensible reasons for his remarks. One observation among many much superior to it, tho' too tedious to be here introduced, I cannot help remarking, for the common familiarity to us, especially as a contrary reasoning on the same subject has generally seemed to take place.

It was always Mr. Walker's rule to promote as much exercise as possible among the men, by planning out various diversions for them which created sweating : being convinced that the sea-scurvy increased itself, or took most root in a sluggish blood ; and that by frequent moderate perspirations those salts might be worked off, or melted by sweating, which would otherwise corrode or fix themselves in a matter, which, so let to rest, would in a little time grow too heavy or hard to be pushed or washed off. However right his opinion may be, he by this practise always kept his men in every ship sweet and healthful. A case of foils always lay on the quarter-decks for the use and exercise of the officers, and cudgels lay on the other decks for the common men. At which all took their turns. Our Spanish gentleman was most delighted at the cudgel-playing, which was frequently performed on purpose before him by our best masters of the art. As sometimes a broken head was a proof of the mastery or the end of the entertainment, when he saw the blood come and the wounded man in such good humour with the conqueror, as immediately to shake hands and drink together (which was the custom) he always lifted up his eyes with amazement and admiration, and said, that he desired no greater instance than that one low particular of two of the greatest inherent virtues which could bless a people in general, namely, courage and generosity of soul, and that from this common circumstance he was fully convinced of the peculiar greatness

of the nation. "With us," says he, "the grandson of the man who had lost blood would have owed a grudge against the children of the other, who had drawn it, and in all probability would some time or other take an unfair opportunity of a bloody revenge."

If the reader has gained an opinion of this gentleman's sense and will not think a story from him of himself an interruption to the present business, I shall venture to relate one after him in as good a manner as I can. If the reader should think that in some parts it puts on the air of a romance I beg he may not charge me with such taste of writing, but consider the persons who are the actors in it, whose country's favourite passion is love. In which, as of all people in the world they are most restrained in, so are they of any most schemeing and venturous in pursuing it. The story was introduced by some enquiry we made about the earthquake at Lima.

"To tell you my true losses," says he, "I must begin very far back, even from my infancy. My father was vice-roy or governor of the place of which I at present am. Dying whilst I was very young he left me and my mother with all his effects (which were personal and very considerable) in the care of the next great man of the place, who, by having been long in some public office there, had amassed a surprising fortune of the like kind, for Europeans who fill those great offices seldom realize in the country the profits they make by it. This gentleman did not discharge the trust which my father placed in him, as he ought, for, in my younger days I remember to have heard my mother make great complaints of his parsimony in his allowances to her and myself as not consistent with either of our characters and injurious to the education I ought to have received. For the better part of which I was totally obliged to her particular care and early instruction of me, and though a woman, I have at this day no reason to complain of her tutorship, as she was in the first place a person of strict virtue and had several other recommending accomplishments. The circumstance of my life has often furnished me with a

strong power of reflecting how very essential in the consideration of marriage is the choice of a wise woman, even beyond beauty or fortune ; for in case of any ill fate or accident happening to the husband she can then supply his place to his children.

“ The first stroke of ill-fortune which I suffered was by an illness she was seized with, which occasioned her death. I was then a youth about fourteen years old. Even at that tender age her death-bed prognostications were very alarming to me, in recommending strongly to my example the merits of my deceased father, as the better trust for a future livelihood than any expectations of a fortune in my guardian’s hands. After the duties of her funeral were performed the first visit I paid was to my guardian, deeply affected with the impression which the words of my dying mother had made upon me. He very soon took occasion to tell me that I must now think of looking out for some business to enter into, my fortune in his hands being, as he said, so very small and insignificant thro’ the extravagance and ill conduct of my father ; at the same time he threw out some accusations against him for his better generosity. I had strength of mind patiently to behold myself an outcast to the world ; I had temper and spirit to bear and despise the avaritious fraud of so great a villain : but tho’ I did not remember my father, yet having heard so many people talk of his virtues to me I could not submit to any lie or infamy to be scratched on the fair monument of his fame. I insulted the old villain as a liar ; I accused him of fraud, and upbraided him with ingratitude to his friend’s remains. In short, our passions on both sides growing equally high (as he was not used to contradiction) we took up weapons against each other ; and though he was in years, yet considering my boyhood, the match had in it no ungenerous inequality. However, I gained much the advantage, and when his servants with his daughter (who was his only child, and heir to all his fortune) interposed, my hand was fastened to his throat, and I believe had soon stopped his life ; but on her appearance I disengaged me from my hold, and



The Prince Frederick and King George engaging the *Glorioso* off Cape St. Vincent by moonlight.

From Ravenet's engraving of the painting by Charles Brooking.

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excusing myself to her in a manner due to her affinity and my own justification, retired. I then applied to some of my father's acquaintances for assistance to recover my fortune, or a genteel maintenance out of my guardian's hands. Every one almost answered me in dumb shew, with expressive shrugs or commiserating shakings of the head. Some, indeed, went so far as to give an opinion, that it was a pity my father's son should be put to any necessities for a genteel living ; and one or two promised me that they would speak to him for something to be done in my behalf. But when I waited on them again for their answer I was upbraided by them for my past conduct, in offering to lift my arm against my guardian, a second parent ; and dismissed with a coolness that told me I was very undeserving of favour.

“ Under these circumstances sitting one morning alone, very pensive, a young negro girl left with my servant a present for me of a water-melon, wrapped up in a small basket, and went off before I could enquire to whom I was obliged. Taking it out I found it very heavy, and could perceive it had been cut and joined together. It owed its weight to a large present of gold. My pride here got the better of my gratitude. ‘What,’ said I, ‘am I become a dependant on charity, to be fed by alms?’ I threw it on the ground, and upbraided my servant for taking it in ; but at last reason gained the rule, at my servant's offering to take it away out of my sight. I took it up myself and put it to its proper uses. There was a young gentleman of the place, a man of fortune, my intimate acquaintance : he was in love with my guardian's daughter, to whose courtship (as from several circumstances there was no expectancy of gaining a father's consent) I had been very administering in delivering letters, at the frequent visits of business or ceremony which my mother used to pay the house, for she always carried me with her. But I never was so successful in my embassy as to bring my friend an answer back. Though I could be no longer his assistant, and he knew it, yet I imagined this compliment to my distress came from him. I

taxed him with it. He seriously disclaimed the merit of it, but generously offered me his friendship in that or any other way in his power ; and indeed he was the only solace of conversation and familiar of sincere friendship I had at all times recourse to. I, on the other hand, continued the trusty confidant of his love, and was generally his attendant to the silent window at night of his beautiful mistress ; who frequently was there to receive us, and in her address and behaviour was so truly amiable, tho' no ways encouraging to the hopes of a lover, even to be complaisant to me, notwithstanding the disorder of spirits my attack on her father had thrown her into, which I heard had cost her a fit of illness.

“ But amidst all this friendship, which for upwards of four years was uninterrupted and lively, I never once was reduced to the blush of accepting the convenience of his purse, though he every day offered it. My still unknown benefactor attacked me a thousand ways with a like liberality, and took me every time unguarded. To tell the many and elegant stratagems made use of to deceive me into an easy acceptance of so much bounty, would take up more time than I ought to trespass on you for a recital of the whole story. One morning I received a formal challenge from a person, unknown, to meet at a certain spot, but to bring no second. I went, and at the appointed place, on a tree, hung a writing with these words in a woman's hand, *Strike at my heart*. I went to take it down, and found it only the outside label of a weighty purse of gold. ‘ Alas ! ’ said I, smiling, ‘ you are a dangerous enemy to engage ; and I own you have before conquered me : however, for this once, I take you away prisoner.’ Another time, at night, I was met by a slave, who rudely and suddenly threw a mantle or short cloak over my head and face. I imagined an assassination. ‘ Villain,’ said I, tearing it off my face, and drawing my sword ; when no person appearing, I took up the mantle, which was a fine piece of gold and silver embroidery in needlework, with these characters, *You have struck my heart and ought to be my*

prisoner ; and at the four corners hung by way of tassels four gold knit purses, richly filled. These kind of presents grew so familiar to me that I insensibly began to conceive I had some angel-steward above, who knew all my necessities and provided accordingly : for I gave a loose to the pleasurable pursuits of youth, almost totally neglecting my guardian's debt to me, or not considering it as any part of my dependance.

" One day my friend came to me with transports in his eyes and gestures. ' Read that letter,' says he, ' from my dear Isabella,' throwing it on my table. When I took it up my further surprize kept equal pace with his joy, not so much at the contents, as at the hand, which I knew to be the same that wrote the label on the tree. However, the contents were sufficient to cover all my confusion, which my countenance expressed at it. They gave an account of her father then lying at the point of death, and desired him to come to her house at a certain hour that night in a priest's habit and to bring me with him drest in the like disguise, when we should be admitted on business of much importance. We attended in every particular conforming to the appointment, and were introduced to an apartment, where the lady made her appearance, and with great grace addressing herself to my friend, said, ' I dare say you will excuse my asking your assistance in this private manner, as it intends the service of your friend. My father has now entered upon his last hour of intelligent life, being now in his senses, which he obtains at intervals between very violent deliriums. His physicians assure me that his next fit of frenzy will be his end. I know the high demand this gentleman has on him for a fortune, which for some purposes, of which I am ignorant, has been concealed. I mean to make no excuses for my father, where heaven has taken away all excuse by giving such abundant blessings to his peculiar share. I have therefore solicited an account from him, but he declines giving any to me, saying he will make confessions of it to his fathers, and give a sufficient restitution to them. Now, Sir, as I am willing to do a iustice to this injured gentleman,

I considered that the Church would conceal the confession, to secure to itself the gift of restitution ; and as my father is now so far spent as not to be able to discover [reveal] the fraud, which I mean with a good intention to impose upon him, if I have your consent to it I will admit you into the chamber to take his confession ; and as none other except his physicians have been admitted to him but in his deliriums, you need fear no present interruption or future direction. If you satisfy yourselves about the particulars as to the fortune, you may depend upon my after execution of what is just ; and I dare say I shall do his soul more good by a return of the whole to the proper owner than by any gift to the church of a part.'

" This was spoke with such a tender duty for a dying father as visibly revealed in her a fear and concern for his having done amiss ; at the same time it shewed such an unbounded generosity of mind that we could not but admire the whole with wonder as in silence. We were accordingly admitted into the chamber where the sick man lay, who by a glimmering light was so easily deceived in us as to reveal the important secret. For my friend played the priest extremely well, and being a man of humour, bartered much about the sum to be paid to the church in the place of restitution. For my part, I was almost totally silent, but oftentimes could scarcely refrain my smiles. When we withdrew, his daughter waited to receive us. I was almost afraid to repeat the sum mentioned, lest the largeness of it (as it was very considerable) should be beyond what her generosity, though great, had intended to bestow. She did not shew the least surprize at it ; but telling us that she would at the proper time ask us to a more public visit, wished us goodnight, as she said she had some ceremonies to see discharged to her father in his next return of frenzy, which was now every moment expected ; recommending it to us to keep this affair in the mean time a secret. ' The next day we received a public account of her father's dying mad, under the office of extream unction. I dare say from the witness I myself was to his latter moments, that the frenzy of

his mind was but the outside illness, or effect of a troubled conscience within.

“ My next reflections, you may imagine, were upon the past behaviour of my guardian angel, for such her appearance in her whole conduct was to me. My friend was greatly alert and elevated, pre-thinking her his future bride ; nor did his generosity and love for me envy me my future expectations of such a promised fortune, diminishing his own. But I was in no small pain on his account. I was conscious of her regard for me in the many tokens sent, with the multitude of her bounties. I could then plainly discover a reservedness in her to him in our late interview, and well account for her former exactness of address and decorum through all the past, flattering myself that the frequent opportunities she gave him of nightly scenes at her window, were owing to her desire of my company, and so it was. The time was not long before she sent for us ; sooner, indeed, than we could suppose her affairs in a readiness. Our invitation was to an entertainment where were many of her friends, before whom she took an opportunity of acquainting me, that her father, before his death, had mentioned to a friend that such a portion of his personal effects belonged to me ; but that she believed he had in his passion destroyed most of my papers on receiving the late affront from me : wherefore if I was content with the account, she was ready to return it. You may again judge my happiness, and the whole company's approbation and wonder at her beauteous conduct. Even my friend was to his cost delighted ; but afterwards, when the first sallies of my joy began to give way to reflection, I sunk into a severe malancholy and thought how to discharge myself with honour between love and friendship. You cannot be surprised if I say I sincerely was in love, and gratitude also threw its stronger bonds on my inclinations. I blessed my fate that had so separated us for the past years, lest by growing up with her perfections I had become so familiar to them (which is often the case between brother and sister) as not to feel the strong notice of them, which I did by being

awaked at once into the light. I saw her passion for me at every instance discover itself, and even my friend now began to think her behaviour too reserved to his courtship, as short of his expectations, or self-promises of her favour ; and perceiving also my alteration of mind, he insisted, as I thought, with a jealousy upon knowing the cause. I thought it more consistent with our friendship to reveal to him that it was upon his account I had entertained any concern at my present fortune, and disclosed my whole breast to him, and my opinions of her love. His eyes were opened ; he saw the truth as clear as I did ; confusion of mind and loss of all sense deprived him of himself. He fainted in my arms. I recovered him to life, but not to his senses ; anger, rage, and revenge now took place. He drew his sword, and shortening it made a stroke at me, which I avoided, and with the utmost pity took my leave, giving him over to time to bring his dis-tempered mind to health and reason.

“ But his frenzy did not leave him : he spoke aloud his complaints against me, as of a false friend, who had robbed him of his love. He more madly spoke of the late transaction of our imposing on the deceased father, and I immediately had notice from my friends to prepare for my escape ; for upon his imprudent discovery the power of the convent would otherwise have taken hold of me instantly. My first thoughts of providing for myself were soon changed into a total care for my beauteous guardian, who was rather more guilty than myself, as the generous contriver of the plot. I hastened to her, revealed our mutual danger with the freeness of an approved lover ; for the danger put by all ceremony, and she in like manner was surprized into the same behaviour. The alternative was to fly away together, or be doomed to all worldly adversity if we staid. We engaged two particular friends of great consequence, in strict fidelity to us : to them we conveyed our larger boxes of treasure, and taking with us all our jewels and a large quantity of money, we left Lima in the night with a man and woman servant, in a swift carriage. Our friends wisely barricaded both our houses, and

deserted them ; by this means the ceremony of breaking open first the one and then the other (as the fraternity thought we must be concealed in one of them) took up most of the next day, and favoured our escape ; for they came, as expected, and perceiving us gone, took possession of both our houses and all the rich furniture in them, in part of retaliation of the particular sum bequeathed to them by the deceased, which particular also our frantic friend revealed, and hereby got pardon and absolution for himself. But he did not enjoy life long ; he was pitied by some, despised by others, hated by himself, and died in some months after. Much to be lamented it is that when we neglect to watch over ourselves our passions often take such ungovernable fire and rage over the fair palace of reason !

“ In twenty-four hours we were several leagues on our way to Panama, from whence, as our design was, we crossed over to Porto-Bello, and there took shipping for Europe. We got safe to Spain. It would be indulging myself too unfairly in a partial entertainment were I to tell the various scenes through which we passed in our travels with the greatest happiness, as not one misfortune attended us in the whole. The pleasant times of courtship, the alternate accounts of her contrivances in sending, and of my surprized acceptances of her past favours, and our mutual endeavours to be agreeable to each other, added a peculiar pleasure to ourselves amidst the beautiful variety of scenes, for the strictest decorum of respect was on my side preserved, and an uncensurable conduct on hers. We did not think it safe to make any great stay in Old Spain, but went soon to France, and from thence to Holland. In short, we were the happiest pair, were blessed with lovely children, had seen many of the polite Courts, settled our affairs at Lima by our interest in Spain, and at last returned hither with the principal command. I must just stop to tell you that the terms by which we made peace with the Church were by paying down the real sum stipulated between my friend and wife's father for a restitution. I cannot but smile

even now, when I reflect on the acting of that deceit. Little did I then think that the mockery of our increasing the dues of restitution as a right to our profession, which was then a matter of such pleasantry, should be now in earnest paid."

Here the gentleman made a full stop as at having concluded his story : and had we imagined the remaining part to have been so tragical a scene, after so pleasing a walk of entertaining life, our good nature would have checked our further enquiry, which our worse bred curiosity was too forward in asking.

"My house," said he, "though standing apart from the rest of the city, was a large structure in itself, sufficient to effect its own ruin. At the time of the earthquake,¹ which happened on a sudden upon the clearest and most temperate day which the skies ever seemed to compose as a blessing to mankind, I was in a hall in the midst of the town on a public occasion. The universal crack burst like a bolt of thunder on the ear of every sense ; its rolling noise, as it passed off, continued for some minutes of time. The earth shook and kept its fit of trembling ; houses, churches, while streets of building sunk or tumbled every way in ruins. Walls were seen to open and close again as on joints ; till at last the whole city became a mountain of rubbish, and devoured most of its inhabitants within its own bowels. The sea joined in the common depredation. It swelled over the streets and ruins, then, as struck with the general terror, it run back with as strong a reflux ; then it flowed again repeatedly, till it at last settled like a balance to itself. To describe the various terrors of the people would be to paint so many various faces, but all held in this one opinion, that it was the last days of nature. Some run out of the strand after the sea, and were by its sudden return again instantly overwhelmed ; some made to the fields and country, but most of them were caught, or intercepted in the ruins, tumbling on their heads.

¹ The great earthquake of October 28, 1746, reduced the greater part of Lima to ruins, and totally demolished the famous cathedral. Many lives were lost, and the whole of Callao was destroyed.

I was preserved from the falling roof of the hall by a kind of arched canopy over my head. I got clear of the surrounding heap as soon as possible, and rushing through all danger, and mounting over hills of ruins, I found my way unhurt to my home, which afforded still, if possible, a more heart-felt shock to that part of human nature which I shared. The whole was a ruined heap; my wife, children, and servants, all below the disfigured mass. I had every assistance that could be given, and we removed the rubbish with an expedition that scarce seemed tedious to my eager wishes. Out of five children heaven saved me three, who are now alive; my wife was also taken up alive, but crushed and wounded beyond cure. Here you may judge a scene of tears, but amidst this our sorrow, her pious soul saw reason for which to thank the heavenly director of all things that she lived to behold me preserved to defend in life our remaining children. Her death was at last some ease to my own heart, as it put a being out of pain whose better place of existence was to be in happiness."

Some few days after his telling this story, he expressing much curiosity about the manner of a sea-fight, Mr. Walker ordered a general exercise of the great guns of our own and the other ships, that is, of running them out to take aim, and in again, as in an engagement, with firing of the small arms, one ship against another. These exercises we also practised at other times, as they made the men more regular in their actions, when the engagement became real. The commodore in this manner gave him the representation of a sea-engagement, which was performed by all the ships with great alacrity, and shewed the grandeur of such actions without the terror. At this and some other marks of respect he expressed great acknowledgment of pleasure and thanks; he afterwards went ashore at Lagos-Bay, as before-mentioned, in his way to High-mount, where he proved a faithful minister in obtaining the discharge of our men in return to the civilities he had received.

As we stood in for Lagos-Bay, with little wind, we saw three settees¹ about three leagues to the westward, supposed to be Spaniards. We immediately hoisted out our barge and yawl, and sent them in pursuit of them; the *Prince Frederick* also sent both hers, the commodore having given her the *Princess Amelia's* barge in the place of her own. In the evening, about eight o'clock, we saw our boats in the offing return with two of the settees, being Spaniards; the other had run ashore under the fort, which fired at our boats to prevent their pursuing. Upon our first observing our boats with their prizes our ships came to an anchor; the Spaniards had made a stout resistance, which deserved compliment equally speaks the attack as bold on our side. They had one man killed and several wounded; we had two lieutenants, a gunner, and six other men wounded, two of whom afterwards died. Our barge brought the two captains on board us; they were Catalonians, and the prizes were the *St. Mazine* and *St. Christopher*, from Barcelona, bound to Lisbon with raisins and silk handkerchiefs.

When we had just finished our watering, October the sixth, the last and most severe engagement happened, which for its various accidents and catastrophes has been equalled by few, but exceeded by none. Mr. Walker, in the *Boscawen*, had before engaged and overcome six armed Martinico ships at one time, yet they were each inferior to him. Here he had a colossus singly to encounter, whose smallest ball well placed was sufficient to have sent his floating castle of defence to the bottom of the ocean. But to our story.

October the 6th, the *King George* and *Prince Frederick* having just compleated their watering, and coming out clear of the bay, about five o'clock in the morning

¹ The settee was a small lateen-rigged trading vessel with two masts, formerly very common in the Mediterranean and frequently mentioned in naval reports, from the 17th to the 19th centuries. These boats were often used for transporting troops and horses. They were capable of making long passages as is shown by the fact that after the fight with the *Glorioso* off Cape St. Vincent Walker sent away two of them with despatches direct to England. This type of vessel is now obsolete.

the *Prince Frederick* saw a large sail under her lee-quarter standing to the northward towards Cape St. Vincent, the wind N.E. Upon which the commodore threw out the signal for chasing : the *Prince Frederick* being further in the offing, keeping to the southward, whilst the commodore endeavoured to get between the chase and the land, to cut her off from thence, and seeing her a ship of force, dispatched one of the settees, (whom he had immediately employed as tenders) to the *Princess Amelia*, which was the only ship that had not yet finished her watering, and was still at an anchor in the bay, with orders for Captain Riddle to weigh his anchor instantly and follow him, which he did. The *Duke* and the *Prince George*, which ships were the first that had compleated their watering, having been ordered to the eastward to cruise, were now in sight, and perceiving the signal to chase they continued the pursuit for about an hour, and then strangely brought-to, contrary to the repeated signals thrown out by the commodore. The chase by this conduct in the pursuit, seeing herself likely to be hemmed in by the two ships, the *King George* and *Prince Frederick*, was obliged to bear away, making all the sail she could to the westward ; without doubt taking us for larger ships than we were, whilst we took her for a less than she really was. We continued in this pursuit for upwards of five hours, at which time she shewed no colours. At last, about 12 o'clock, the *King George* came up with her, when all on a sudden it fell dead calm, in which we lay within gunshot of each other : the *Duke* and *Prince George* were quite out of sight, the *Prince Frederick* to the southward also becalmed, and the *Princess Amelia* not yet come up. In this situation the chase all at once hoisted colours and run out her lower tier ; when we perceived her a seventy-four-gun ship : but there being little or no wind to spread her colours we could not distinguish whether they were Spanish or Portuguese.¹ We lay in some suspense what to make of her, taking

¹ See Introduction. The white Spanish flag, surmounted by the Union Jack, is seen in Short's picture of the *Glorioso*, 1748, reproduced as frontispiece to this book.

her, if a Spaniard, to be one of the rich homeward bound ships expected with the year's money from the West-Indies, of which the commodore had intelligence, but with this difference, that none of them were said to exceed fifty-four guns. Whilst we lay thus in view of each other, not yet confirmed in our opinions of her, nor as yet determined what step to take, but waiting for some motion to be first made from her side, in about an hour she hauled in her lower tier, and shut her ports. The commodore at this opportunity consulted with his officers what to do. They were all of opinion by this her behaviour that she was a monied ship, and gave their voices for engaging. About five o'clock in the evening a small breeze springing up from the northward, she again directed her course to the eastward towards Cape St. Vincent, which confirmed the opinions of her being one of those treasure ships, and that she wanted on that account to get under the protection of the port. The commodore, as we have said, having sounded the inclinations of his officers and men (who had sufficient time to consider the great odds against them, if they had been the least afraid) and perceiving them still desirous of engaging, gave orders to renew the chase. We got up alongside to her with all expedition and alertness, expecting to be soon joined by the *Prince Frederick*, who was now some greater distance a stern than before, occasioned by our getting the wind before it reached her.

It was now eight o'clock, and a clear moon-shine evening.¹ On coming up to the chase we first hailed her in Portuguese, but received no answer : we then spoke to her in English ; when without answering our question she likewise hailed us in English, and asked the name of our ship ; we replied the *King George*. Without further word or notice she then instantly gave us the prepared fire of her whole broadside, which dismounted two of our guns and brought down our main top-sail yard. This smart salute, as we lay ready on our arms, was as suddenly returned. Thus the unequal contest

¹ The effect of this scene is well rendered by Boydell, after Brooking, in the engraving reproduced facing page 160.

began. The Spaniards repeated their firings with incessant warmth, but not with a continued execution, for tho' they fired as fast as they could, yet their firings after the two first broadsides were extremely irregular, only firing four guns at one time, owing, we may suppose, to the great weight of their guns, which made them less governable than ours were to us. And in this we had the advantage of them from our nearness, for as we continued to fire our broad-sides, so equally regular and well throughout the whole engagement that the last was near as good as the first, not a shot could possibly miss them, and thereby also the fire of our small arms took place; which like a storm of fiery hail beat against the enemy with such incessant force that as we were afterwards informed they fled from their quarters more than once. And here great remembrance must be paid to Mr. James Riddle our captain of Marines, and brother to Captain Riddle of the *Princess Amelia*. He commanded these firings so resolutely, regularly, and quick, that the muskets grew so hot in the hands of the men as to oblige them during the action to take three changes. Had we been at a greater distance the Spaniard could have directed his guns with better aim at our rigging and perhaps have sooner disabled us therein, but by mostly pointing them at our hull with an intent to sink us, as every gun was expected to do the office, many of the balls lodged between wind and water, for by the nearness there was not space for them all to come to a rise. Our men fought like lions; the prospect of so great a prize before them, though a thought of too bold a daring, animated them up to feats of valour. But Mr. Walker, who no doubt felt a pleasing satisfaction in beholding such bravery of his men, was still looking out for the other ships to come up to his assistance, rather thinking, from the great odds of the enemy, that if he remained much longer unassisted, he must fall a prey to them or the seas. He fought and commanded with a calmness almost peculiar to himself. Every man else in the ship appeared a creature actuated with a headstrong spirit of bravery, which seemed to absorb or collect

in it all other thoughts. In short, the whole ship was an engine from every part of her of missive fire ; and yet among ourselves we were in no confusion, but all orders even in the greatest heat of action were deliberately, tho' with expedition, obeyed ; attentive to our duties and not outrunning our abilities in the execution.

During the whole time of the action, which in this manner lasted above three hours, yard-arm to yard-arm, the castle upon Cape St. Vincent fired very briskly, as a neutral power commanding peace ; and we being the nearest to it received many of its shots. Thus we were almost the whole engagement between two fires, but it did us no great damage on account of its distance. The nearer challenge to our best powers set the more remote danger almost out of the view of our attention, for by the closeness of the fight our main-sail actually took fire from the lighted wadding of the enemy's guns. And here a proof may be shewn of Mr. Walker's ease and steadiness of temper in the heat of action and business. Having dispatched up a number of men to extinguish the blaze, another man officiously running up also, Mr. Walker called him back, and reprimanding him for going without orders, sent him to his place, saying, he had ordered enough, as he thought, on the business, and when they did not do their duty he would then send for him. Thus in all extremities the exactest discipline was preserved.

Though we had received many shots in our hull, yet from the great number fired our rigging could not boast of any escape ; for all our braces and main topsail yard were shot away, the fore-mast quite disabled, and the main-mast damaged.¹ We could not work our ship, and bravery became now a virtue of necessity. Never sure was a contest more terrible, and, however fatal on one side (as we could never learn their exact numbers killed) yet conducted with so little loss on ours ! for we had but one man killed and fifteen wounded,

¹ Brooking's striking picture of the *King George* disabled (facing p. 176) shows also her foreyard broken at the slings with the sail over the bows, the fore topgallant and mizen topmasts shot away and every brace in the ship gone, except the main brace.

seven of whom afterwards died. This preservation was owing no doubt to the same method of elm-planking in the place of nettings, with which every ship was provided, as is described in the *Boscawen*.

At eleven o'clock, the enemy to our great surprise made sail, and left us the field of battle. It was an easy running away, for we were not able to follow. But I must here mention what is due to Mr. Dottin's merit, of the *Prince Frederick*, that he endeavoured to get up to us during the engagement as fast as he could, but there was so little wind that it was half an hour after ten o'clock, or about half an hour before the enemy wore off, when he came a-stern of us, upon the enemy's larboard quarter, and began firing with what guns he could bring to bear; which certainly drew some part of the enemy's attention towards him; for he had three of his men dangerously wounded, two of whom had both their legs shot away, but he was not at all disabled in his rigging. However, the commodore did not give him any orders yet to chace, lest we might spring a leak or other accident might happen to us in the night; but two sail appearing to windward, and false fires being made, which were answered, we knew them to be part of our fleet, and grew happy in the thought that our friends were gathering round us. Early at break of day Mr. Dottin came on board. As he came up the side he asked whether the commodore was alive, and when he saw the ship full of men and missed none of the officers or his friends, he stood in amazement for some time, before his surprise could let loose his joy; he then ran into the commodore's arms. At six o'clock the *Prince George* came up, who had rowed all night to us by the report of the engagement, and told us that the *Duke* and the two settees were a-stern, all which ships, having first compleated their watering had been sent on their station to the eastward. Pity it was we had not met this high antagonist when we were all under way on our regular cruise. If so, we had certainly made a surer and safer conquest of her, but, as it before has been observed, when we first saw her we had not all left

our watering-place, and were not together in a readiness for engaging. All our ships being now come together, except the *Princess Amelia*, who was even at anchor when we first begun the chace, the commodore put the *Duke* and *Prince George* under the command of the *Prince Frederick*, Captain Dottin, and sent them all three in pursuit of the enemy, keeping the two settees to attend upon us; whilst we, having all the night made the best refit we could, though still maimed and crippled, slowly followed after, hoping to come up at last to compleat the conquest we had so near won.

As on the one hand, the ships sent after the chace retired from our view, on the other a large ship came up towards us from the eastward. We were but in a sad condition to make any resistance, and were not a little alarmed at the fear (if an enemy) of being taken an easy prey, thus unprepared for a fresh ship: but those fears ceased, as in her approaches to us we discovered her an English man-of-war. The commodore, believing her to be the *Jersey*, Captain Hardy, who we before met, and being desirous that no time should be lost in giving information of the chace in view, wrote a letter to him as the ship was coming up, acquainting him that the fleet to the westward were his ships in pursuit of a Spanish man-of-war who had engaged him the night before, and whom he hoped would fall an easy conquest to a ship of his force. This letter he directed to Captain Hardy, or to the commanding officer on board, and sent it by one of the boats of the settees to meet him (our own boats being intirely shot into splinters) in order that he should not be retarded in the pursuit. This proved to be the *Russel* man-of-war, commanded by Captain Buckle, who opened the letter, and as he would not wait writing, sent his compliments back to Mr. Walker by word, that he thanked him for the contents and would observe them. He immediately crouded all his sail and hastened after them. The *Princess Amelia* next came in sight, whom we knew by the signals she first threw out upon seeing us. The commodore in like manner dispatched her also after the chace, and now our whole



The King George, disabled, and privateers in chase of the *Glorioso*, October, 1748.

From Boydell's engraving of the painting by Charles Brooking.

1883

fleet was in close pursuit, and tho' we could not keep up with them, yet in our place was the *Russel*, a ship of eighty guns.

And now a new scene began ; for we perceived the head-most ship engaged, which we took for the *Prince Frederick*, as she led our other ships and was the best sailor. Yet we counted one more than our number among the croud, but could not tell whence she came. The commodore, as he stood observing them with his glass upon deck, greatly blamed Captain Dottin of the *Prince Frederick* for engaging before the other ships had closed also on the chace, for now perceiving their fire to grow very brisk, he said aloud, " Dottin will fire away all his cartridges at too great a distance, and afterwards be obliged to load with loose powder, by which some fatal accident may happen." Scarce had he pronounced these words when upon giving a broadside she appeared a pillar of smoke in the air. " She's gone ! Oh, heavens ! " cries the commodore. " Dottin, and all his brave fellows are now no more." " Sir," says one of the officers standing by him, " 'tis only the smoke of her last broadside." " 'Tis a dreadful truth you tell," replies the commodore ; " for 'tis the last she will ever give." The smoke being soon dispelled, no ship was to be seen ; from which we too assuredly knew the truth. Of all the sudden changes of fortune which ever lay in prospect before a number of men, elate with pursuing victory, and confident of success, sure never did one appear more suddenly astonishing and affecting than this ! Grief took place, visible in the pale countenance of each common man as well as officer. No distinguishing of sorrow was to be made amongst them. The commodore, seeing his officers so sunk in their spirits, and consequently the men discouraged, stepped aside off the quarter deck into the round-house, whither his officers followed him. " Gentlemen," says he, " if we have a tear to drop, let it be here. Yet whilst it shews us men to pay this remembrance to our friends, past out of life, 'tis the part of soldiers to bear up against the affliction, that like our other enemies would overcome us. Especially it is

now necessary to do so, at least in appearance before my men : as affairs may take a new turn with us, and as in case of meeting with a new enemy, this too much concern in you may beget a diffidence in them." At the moment he closed his words a violent explosion broke aloud in our own ship, like a rattling or thrilling thunder. The commodore, running out, doubly alarmed as well as each of us, by the shock so sudden on the back of the other, saw all the decks deserted, the men afeared, either clinging by the ropes at the outside of the ship, just ready to let themselves down into the sea, or running out on the bowsprit end, all expecting the moment of her blowing up. So easily may the minds of the bravest men be affected with a sudden surprise, when prepossessed by any previous fear ! He quickly saw whence proceeded the noise and firing. Having, as we said, put ourselves in the night in the best order we could, one of the first businesses was to clean and load our arms in readiness for any new attack. The small arms, thus prepared, were laid upon the gratings on the quarter-deck, and covered with a crojack-sail,¹ whilst the arm chests were set to air ; and one of the men in some hurry of duty springing giddily over them, struck one of the cocks, which flashing made almost a total discharge of the whole, and set all the cartouch-boxes a-bursting and flying off. When the commodore ran out several of the arms still kept firing on each side, and the crojack-sail soon blazed out and set fire to some part of the quarter-deck. Not a man was obedient to his call, or ventured giving any assistance, but the said Captain James Riddle, and our honest and brave chaplain,² a very worthy gentleman, who with the commodore ventured themselves boldly, notwithstanding the frequent firings, in bringing water and extinguishing the flames. But chiefly to Mr. Riddle's great

¹ The crossjack yard (pron. 'crojeck) was the lower square yard of the mizen mast. The crossjack sail was practically useless ; it was never kept bent, and was hardly ever set.

² The reference to a chaplain as borne in a privateer is worth notice. Royal and East India ships of 500 tons and over had to carry chaplains.

activity, boldness, and presence of mind in this extremity of things, it was owing that a more fatal accident did not happen. No person was hurt but the man who had occasioned the accident, and who by as giddily jumping off at the ends, where the guns pointed both ways, was shot dead, and lay by the side of the arms : but had not Providence, who in almost every act designs several ends, sent the commodore and his officers off the deck in private condolence for the supposed loss of their friends, and partners in the war, most if not all of them must have perished as they stood around the arms.

The unfortunate ship which was blown up was the *Dartmouth* man-of-war, Captain James Hamilton, who being the night before several leagues to the westward, and hearing the report of the guns in the late engagement, made the best of his way to the point from which he heard the firing, and in plying up to windward fell in with our chace first, and engaged her before our ships came up, and being the headmost of the fleet was imagined by us to be the *Prince Frederick*. He engaged the enemy in a running fight very warmly for about an hour and a half with his bow chase, which the Spaniards as briskly returned with his stern, and had come almost to a close engagement, when the *Prince Frederick* had now brought her bow chase to bear, and had also begun to engage ; in the beginning of which close engagement the *Dartmouth* blew up. Lucky it was for many of her people that the *Prince Frederick* was so near, as she immediately got out her boats to their assistance, which the *Duke* did likewise, being also near enough to lend her aid. They took up about seventeen of them alive, among whom there was no one of any rank except Mr. Obrien, who was a young gentleman of Ireland, and then an acting Lieutenant. He was taken up, recovered to his senses, floating on the carriage of a gun, on which he had been blown out of the ship into the water. He was a young gentleman of great ease in behaviour, and of an happy readiness of wit ; which talents he has since improved to the gaining the esteem, as he before engaged the favour of mankind. His first salute to Mr. Dottin was, " Sir,

you must excuse the unfitness of my dress to come aboard a strange ship, but really I left my own in such a hurry that I had no time to stay for a change." This easy turn of thought amidst the melancholy scene lightened the consideration of the present distress, and made true the reflection, that good humour is half way to philosophy. Of all the persons saved Mr. O'Brien was the only one who could give any account of the affair, which was this. Being sent on a message from Captain Hamilton to the officer who commanded below, as he was down between decks he was met by the gunner who attended the magazine, staring, wild and trembling : he asked Mr. O'Brien where the captain was. "Where should he be but on deck ?" says Mr. O'Brien, "but what's the matter ?" "O Sir, the magazine !" At which word the explosion happened, and he knew no more till he found himself floating upon his new bark in the midst of the sea. His escape was the more extraordinary as he was between decks when the explosion happened, which one would imagine to be a certain place of death. But he was in all supposition blown out sideways, in the same direction in which the carriage was sent also, and so alighted on it as it buoyed up in the water, for he has often assured us that he did not get upon it by swimming or catching hold of it, as he found himself on it the moment he was sensible.

After taking up the men and getting in the boats, in which interim the chace had made all the sail she could to the westward, the *Prince Frederick* and the *Duke* renewed their chace, and by this time were also happily joined by the *Russel*. And now again another scene began in the pursuit and conquest of this bold though flying enemy, for never did Spaniards, nor indeed men, fight a ship better than they did this. Our fleet pursued her all night, in which we lost sight of them, but conjectured the success of the engagement from the report of the guns, for hearing them repeated about two o'clock in the morning, we supposed it renewed, and hearing no more of them after three, concluded the enemy had struck. And our conjectures

were very near the truth, for about that hour in the morning the three ships came within a gunshot of the chace, when the *Russel* began the engagement, which became very bloody, all the ships continuing their firings with their utmost vigour and smartness, which were with great bravery returned by the Spaniard. The *Russel* had sixteen men killed and wounded, all her boats shot away, several shots between wind and water ; yet she did equal execution upon the enemy ; at last a shot from her took away the Spaniard's main-top mast, upon which he fired a single gun and struck.

The prize was the *Glorioso* man-of-war of seventy-four guns, seven hundred and fifty men, and had been but seven days from the Groyne,¹ and bound to Cadiz. The *Russel* was of eighty guns, but had only three hundred and seventy men. The number of prisoners was so great that Captain Buckle had a deal to manage. He made use of the *Prince Frederick's* and *Duke's* barges in transporting the prisoners on board his own ship and them, and took sixty of the *Prince Frederick's* men and forty of the *Duke's* on board the *Russel* for her greater security. Notwithstanding this, the men growing mutinous by their great numbers, he was obliged to hold a consultation with Captains Dottin and Denham how to dispose of them. At this time the *Prince George* coming up it was instantly concluded that she should take in as many as she could, which were about two hundred, and that the *Prince Frederick* should conduct them safe into Lisbon.

The prize was so shattered that the three following days were employed chiefly in repairing her, before she could make any great sail, which when they had put somewhat to rights the whole proceeded to Lisbon. When we consider the great bravery of this ship in the several severe engagements she encountered of two men of war and three large privateers, we cannot but the more wonder at the first bold attack of our own ship the *King George*, who fought so many hours in her full strength and vigour, and at last obliged her to run.

¹ The old naval name for Coruña.

In the morning of the engagement, we have said, we lost sight of the whole fleet except the *Princess Amelia*, who had been dispatched much later than the rest after the chace, and was to the westward of us but who, also having lost sight of the other ships, again rejoined us. We then in conjunction with her and the two settees stretched away to the westward, the wind N.N.E. in expectation of falling in again with them. But seeing nothing of them we gave over the search, and again set about getting our own ship in as good plight as we could, to act upon the defensive in case of meeting with an enemy (in which business we had been employed ever since the time of the action) for as to pursuing one, we were not yet in any condition.

October the ninth, about nine o'clock in the morning, we saw three sail also to the westward, the one the most to leeward seemed to be a very large ship, from which circumstance we concluded her to be the prize, with some of our ships; and accordingly bore down to them, but found the two most to windward large Dutch ships from Cadiz, bound to Amsterdam. They informed us that the large ship at the leeward of them was a French man-of-war of sixty guns, who had spoke with them the night before. This account threw our ship into some hurry of preparation, but whilst others were giving orders for the necessary matters, the commodore set himself down calmly to write a letter home by them, to the managers, with the circumstances of our late engagement, our present situation, and the other matters as we then knew them, and kept the Dutchmen till he had finished. When he had dismissed them he then addressed us. "Gentlemen, I need not tell you that we are in a worse condition to run than fight. I say not this as chusing at this time to lead you on to an engagement; but that, if one be unavoidable, we had better begin with the enemy by daylight than wait for their attacking us with great advantage to themselves by night; and if we made a ship of seventy-four guns run away by night, why not one of sixty by day? 'Tis therefore my opinion we should bear down upon the ship in view, as the most

probable means of avoiding the greater disadvantages of an engagement with her." The men giving three cheers of resolution to do as he directed, we immediately bore down on the supposed enemy, not being in a capacity to act less courageously. But very agreeably to ourselves, as we drew near her we perceived her by the cut of her sails and rigging to be an English ship, and so brought-to alongside of her. She was the *Bedford* man-of-war, Commodore, now Admiral Townshend, whose goodness and civility, if I may be allowed the phrase at sea, were very neighbourly; for being informed of the severe engagement we had been in he offered us any of his majesty's stores, that we might have occasion for, and all other assistance in his power: but we being in no want of anything of the kind, having refitted as well as the situation of affairs would allow, acknowledged his civility in our best return of thanks. He then parted with us, and stood to the N.W.

The four following days, still in search of our fleet, we saw several distant sail, alone and in company, which we chased in hopes of meeting with or hearing some intelligence of our fleet; but all proving Dutchmen, Swedes, or English, we neither saw nor heard any thing of our ships till the fourteenth, being then in sight of land about six or seven leagues from the rock of Lisbon; when about seven in the evening we fell in with the *Duke*, and soon after saw the fleet to windward. Captain Denham informed us that the fleet in view were our ships, the *Russel*, and their prize the *Glorioso*, a Spanish man-of-war; which ship we had received accounts of some months before as computed to have in value above three millions sterling. He also gave us an account of the accident of the *Dartmouth*, and of the safety of the *Prince Frederick*. This news could not fail of elevating our men to as high pitch of transport at the supposition of our being in possession of so large a share of fortune. But the account of the safety of our friends was a degree of joy, if possible, above transport. Upon this news the commodore, who endeavoured to give all the pleasure in his power, as well as satisfaction to his owners,

dispatched one of the settees for England to brighten the cloudy accounts sent in his letter through the channel of the Dutchman.

The next day we had the pleasure of seeing the prize and *Prince Frederick*. And here I must, in justice to the good hearts of the men, so soon repeat the remark, that in seeing the last they gave greater expressions of joy both in voice and gesture than in their salutations of the prize, though imagined to be full of money. The commodore and Captain Riddle immediately went aboard the *Russel*. Captain Buckle received them on the quarter-deck, where were also the Spanish captain and some of his officers. Captain Buckle introduced Mr. Walker to the Spanish commander, who turned aside to shed a moment's tears, and then addressed him with great tenderness. "By you," says he, "I have lost a darling son; but 'twas the fortune of the war, no fault of yours. Yet, though your honours be my misfortunes, I wish they had found some better reward than the bare glory of reducing so great a ship; for she carries nothing but great guns, having landed all our treasure at the Groyne, before she met you." This certainly was meant a compliment, but never was a more blank one paid before, as in the account of there being no treasure on board. But Mr. Walker, recovering himself from his surprise, told him, it was yet a satisfaction to him to see that so brave a man as he had escaped the danger; and that though it was his misfortune to be overcome, yet it could never be thought a discredit to him to have struck to his majesty's ship the *Russel*.

As Mr. Walker at first intended to send both the settees to England, he that evening dispatched the other also home with the present news, lest the managers should vainly imagine themselves richer than they were, or indeed needed to be. However, she was so fine and compleat a ship that his Portuguese majesty afterwards offered for her thirty thousand moidores, wanting her at the time of the Goa expedition against the rebellion and massacre that happened there.

Next morning the commodore sent for Mr. O'Brien

from on board the *Prince Frederick*, as he was much burnt, to have him under his own surgeon, the gentleman we have so often mentioned. Under his care Mr. Obrien soon recovered, and by his agreeable deportment and much good humour made our whole company as happy as himself. I say himself, for the commodore, at Lisbon, when ashore, leaving him master of the cabin, when he was sent to, and invited to continue aboard a king's ship, then in the harbour, he begged he might be allowed to stay where he was; unless they would make him a captain at once, as he was spoiled for any thing else. This gentleman, in whose preservation Providence so remarkably interposed, a circumstance never to be forgotten by his family, is the present heir to the title and estate of earl of Inchiquin of Ireland.¹

As we were the only ship hurt of our fleet, the commodore thought it necessary that the rest should proceed on their station for the remainder of the cruise; especially as our great expectations of a fortune were now again vanished. Wherefore he gave them all the necessaries which they wanted out of his own ship, and also an additional number to each of them, as was thought proper; and they accordingly left us on the seventeenth, having put all the prisoners on board other ships, which they met with, going into Lisbon: wither we also bore away to refit, and came over the bar to an anchor that evening.

Early the next morning a boat belonging to the *Prince George* which had been before sent in with two hundred prisoners, came alongside of us, and, to the great surprise of Mr. Walker, brought in her one of the managers from England, who gave Mr. Walker a

¹ One of the few native Irish houses in the peerage. The 4th earl succeeded his father in 1719, died in 1777, and was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Murrough O'Brien, created Marquess of Thomond in 1800. This may have been the individual referred to. The first earl (royalist) commanded a French army in Catalonia in 1653; while off the Tagus, in 1659, his vessel was captured by Algerine corsairs and he and his son were carried prisoners into Algiers.

very uncouth welcome into Lisbon for venturing, as he termed it, their ships against men-of-war. "Had the treasure, sir," says Mr. Walker, "been a-board, as I expected, your compliment had been otherways; or had we let her escape from us with that treasure on board, what had you then have said?" But if I do not take care to stop myself in time I shall run into a business which is reserved for another discussion. We shall therefore return to say that the *Glorioso* prize came also with us the same day to an anchor, and the *Russel* man-of-war, all almost a-breast of each other.

Yet I cannot help mentioning one dispute, among some others, which is material here, as it rather relates to Mr. Walker's conduct than to any error of accounts. The ransom for the *Buen Consejo*, having been fixed and agreed between all the parties, the managers had, without asking Mr. Walker's consent, articulated that he should convoy her safe as far as the Canary Islands. This, when he was informed of it, he absolutely refused to execute as an unwarrantable act, by protecting his majesty's enemies. The matter was carried to a great height between the manager and him, and at last brought before Sir Benjamin Keene, who gave his sentiments entirely on Mr. Walker's side; and whilst he with great spirit reprimanded the one, he with equal justice complimented the other, so the contract became void. This was mighty cause of displeasure against Mr. Walker.

As soon as we got into port we set about refitting, which took us up near ten weeks. We had received vast numbers of shot in our hull below water, most of which had only lodged in her and not gone through, which could not be owing to the weakness of the enemy's powder (for wherever a shot touched us above water it did its due execution) but to the nearness of the resisting medium of the water through which they were to pass, which deadened their force. At this time the prince, now the present King of Portugal, came in a barge on purpose to see the damage we had sustained, and rowed round us and the *Glorioso*. We gave him a

royal salute as he went from us, and received the compliment of his hat. .

We will now attend to our three ships at sea, the *Prince Frederick*, *Duke*, and *Princess Amelia*, under the command of Captain Dottin, of the *Prince Frederick*, who all behaved with great conduct, harmony, and some good fortune. For, in the first place, on October the twenty-first, as they lay off Faro, the *Prince Frederick's* boat, which was separated from us by night in the storm, came aboard with the lieutenant, captain of marines, and all the men safe and in health. Having received the commodore's letters of credit, as before mentioned, they had regained their liberty by cartel at High-Mount from the Spaniards and had come to Faro but three days before the arrival of our ships on that coast. And, November the second, seeing a sail, the three ships gave chase, and rising her very fast they soon came so near her as to fire at her, notwithstanding which she still kept her wind. But they continuing their fire pretty briskly she at last bore down to them, and the *Prince Frederick* brought her to. She was a Dutch ship, in the service of the Spaniards, the *Agatha* galley of sixteen guns, from La Vera Cruz, having on board seventeen chests of money registered on Spanish account, one box of wrought plate, cochineal, and indigo to a great value, in the whole amount upwards of twenty thousand pounds. The captains Dottin and Riddle agreed to put the money on board the *Duke*, and to send the prize under convoy into Lisbon, to the commodore there, whilst they continued their cruise. In hoisting the chests of money over the side one chest by accident fell overboard, but the *Duke* and prize arrived safe at Lisbon, to the great pleasure of the commodore and satisfaction of the manager, who immediately took possession of the money and sent it to England in the *Bedford* man of-war.

The two other captains continued their cruise with great judgment and harmony, meeting every day a chase of some kind or other, but with no further success, till at last the time of their cruise expiring and their water and provisions growing short, having put the men to

an allowance of both for some days before, they, on the twenty-ninth of November, came over the bar of Lisbon, and saluting the commodore brought up to an anchor by his side. The commodore that evening went on board each of them, and on hearing the circumstances of the cruise, could not be insensible of some vanity at the good behaviour and seamanship of two so young officers brought up under his early lessons.

This paternal pride was also, at this time, not a little increased by his meeting with Captain Brooks, his former lieutenant in the *Mars* and *Boscawen*, who had been sent for to Hamburgh by his friends, and was now commodore of two large Hamburgh men-of-war, on a cruise against the Turks. A whimsical awkwardness appeared here in his behaviour, as he did not know how to take place of his former master, or rather sea-parent, and yet thought that, in respect to his country's flag, he ought to assume the precedency over him as a commander only of private ships of war. But Mr Walker, with great good humour, convinced him that the command of private ships was given by the same authority as that of king's ships, and that all English ships of war must take place of every other nation whatever.

Mr. Walker at this time received a compliment of an extraordinary kind, for the explanation of which he was obliged to have recourse to his friends and which we mention for no other purpose but for its oddity. The Spanish captain of the *Glorioso* being now about to return over land to Spain, wrote to him his compliments of taking leave, desiring him to send him six of his fire arms and bayonets. Mr. Walker, before he gave any answer, told the affair to the agents messieurs Mawman and Macey, where was a gentleman lately from Spain, who informed them that the demand was intended as the highest mark of respect which could be shewn, meaning, that as in battle he himself had proved the merit of those arms, so he desired to continue under their guard in his present journey. As it was found to be meer matter of form, the Spanish arms being doubtless preferable to our own, the number were sent him.

CHAPTER XVIII

The missing of the Havannah fleet ; the great trouble of getting their provision from Faro ; meeting two Algerine ships ; the story of Mahomet and his son ; the King George returns to Lisbon ; the other ships end their cruise, and sail for England

THE Havannah fleet being about this time expected home, the commodore made all preparations for the sea with greater haste. Accordingly, on the first day of the year 1747, he made the signal to unmoor, and we set out on the remaining half or last four months of our cruise.

I must just mention one unhappy step taken in the management of our provisions, which I should not do did it not concern the relation in which we are engaged. Before we came this last time into Lisbon, the remaining part of the provisions (which, as we have before-mentioned, had been sent from England) were ordered by the presiding managers round to Faro, there to be taken in by us, tho' our agents knew that at the end of the first four months' cruise we were to have put into Lisbon for them. This was done without assigning any reason for it, and without having an opportunity of giving us any intelligence thereof. And besides the risque in carrying the provisions thither and loss of time in going for them, it was also an expence : for we were now obliged to buy at least a month's extraordinary provisions, as we could not have gone to the destined port with a less quantity. For, being obliged to set forward immediately to Faro, and there detained by various accidents in taking them in, the first sail we met after coming from thence was a Dutch galliot which informed us that the Havannah fleet was a few days before arrived safe at Cadiz, and had been separated from their convoy in a gale of wind, which were only two men-of-war, one of sixty-four guns and the other seventy-four, both so very sickly that even they had in all probability submitted not only to have let some of their fleet been picked up by us, but also

themselves worsted in an engagement. Thus, by this one ill-fated accident alone, we escaped the very fleet which our hopes were set on meeting.

In getting round to Faro we brought-to a Swede, on the nineteenth, the *Anna Crestina*, Andrew Aspiland master, who told us he had been some days before robbed by an English privateer, which action, like most other bad ones, is not only answerable for its present evil but involves in its own deserved censure the characters of others, even here, of a whole nation. Wherefore, if people would always take a view of the consequences which may attend the action they are going to commit, the foresight that would arise more or less in all would certainly often stop the action from the commission. Mr. Walker, to wipe off the national scandal as much as in him lay, supplied the captain to the best of his power with some necessaries, as we were now near our own provisions, and shewed him other civilities to counter-balance, in his mind, the bad opinion he had entertained of our countrymen. Captain Riddle also chased another ship of the same country, the *Stadt Wismar*, Joachim Hacker, master, which had been plundered in like manner, and from the like description given in all probability by the same ship. Captain Riddle, in example of the commodore, treated their distress with the same good-natured policy.

Before we reached Faro our ship, the *King George*, sprung her bowsprit, for repairs are seldom to be depended on in foreign ports—and the commodore knowing that he could not get in there, it being a bar harbour, anchored, on the twenty-third, in Lagos-Bay to repair, and dispatched the *Princess Amelia* with our new schooner (which we also called the *Prince Edward* tender, in the place of the one which was lost) to bring off the provisions to the rest of the ships. On the twenty-fifth the *King George*, having repaired, weighed anchor again, and we stood off to Faro, when the *Princess Amelia* and the tender coming in sight, a storm arose, and forced back the *Prince Edward* from the other. This inclemency of the weather continued at this time so perverse to our endeavours of expedition that our

ships could not keep on the coast to receive the provisions from our tenders above one day in eight. We had here, among the rest, a tempest of a very extraordinary nature, with rain, such as the like was never known, and some flashes of lightning and loud claps of thunder. The rain fell like a cataract of water, that there was scarce any standing the decks, whilst such a darkness hung around that the clouds seemed to meet the sea, and we appeared in the regions of water. This lasted not long, for the darkness broke as it were in twain over our heads, and the rain abated when the clouds fell away on all sides, in the place of this heavy rain sudden gusts of wind arose, and a great swell came on, but none of our ships received any damage. I must also take notice that whilst we lay here off Faro, a packet came to the commodore from Lisbon, and another to Mr. Denham of the *Duke*, which produced a transaction which we shall mention in its place.

When we, with much difficulty and great loss of time, had got our provisions on board, we hastened to our station where, after chasing numbers of English, Dutch, Portuguese and Swedish ships, on the second of March, we fell in with a large sail, which proved to be an Algerine man-of-war of forty guns, five hundred and fifty men, cruising against the Spaniards and Portuguese. They had been out thirty-six days without the least success. Their lieutenant came on board us, of whom the commodore enquired whether they had any British subjects on board, and found that they had four from Ireland. The commodore detained the lieutenant and boat, and sent aboard the Algerine, insisting upon the men being delivered up, as subjects belonging to his Britannic majesty, with whom the Algerines were always in good peace. The Algerine captain saw himself obliged to consent, but the commodore upon further examination finding that the men spoken of were renegadoes,¹ who had formerly been

¹ The Spanish form of the word "renegade." It was generally applied to Christian sailors and others who had adopted the Moslem faith either to escape ill-treatment when captured by the corsairs, or voluntarily for gain. The Irishmen referred to were

in the Spanish service, and had voluntarily run over from them to the Moors and having taken on them the Mahometan religion, were themselves desirous of remaining with them, he left them to their liking, judging them best where they were; as remembering the truest and shortest character ever given of the people of that nation (which I think is in Mr. Gordon's Geographical Grammar) that *when good, none better; when bad, none worse*. So he dismissed the Algerine officer.

We must here go back to a very remarkable catastrophe which happened immediately after our late engagement with the *Glorioso*; but as it intervened in the middle of a principal action, we postponed it to this place, where it joins itself more regularly to its further story and conclusion.

About the time the ships were manning at Lisbon, an Algerine Turk came on board, to enter himself as a common man. He had been a slave in Spain, and having made his escape from thence, contrived this stratagem to get out of the country. The commodore gave leave for his being admitted. Much about the same time another Turk, in the like circumstances, entered himself on board the *Duke*, in which ships they severally lay concealed, never going ashore from the time of their entering on board. The one on board us was an elderly man of a good form and presence, and was remarkably studious in doing all handy services for the officers, whose servants very willingly let him do them, as sparing their own trouble. Mr. Walker, afterwards, when we were at sea, on some occasion taking notice of the man thought he observed something in his address and manner more than what commonly belonged to the people of low degree. He sent for him to his cabin, and asking him some questions, was answered by him very modestly and with a great air of politeness and genteel sense of the obligation done him, in being thus taken notice of; but he would repeat

probably part of a detachment of the Hibernian Regiment in the service of Spain, which had been captured by Algerine corsairs between Majorca and the mainland in August, 1747.

no part of his history more than that of his having been a slave to the Spaniards. Mr. Walker, however, ordered that he should dine at the steward's table, and that he should not be continued in offices of servitude, which he imagined him above ; and knowing that there was another Turk on board the *Duke*, he sent for him to be with him in our ship, as he thought that the company of a countryman might be an amusement and satisfaction to him on board.

When they were introduced, at the surprise of their first seeing each other, every passion of affection and of joy started in their countenances ; every action which ensued was expressive of that heart-felt happiness. They locked themselves in a strict embrace, and overflowing tears and eyes, uplifted in return of gratitude to heaven, were sure ensigns to us of their sincerity and near alliance. The one found a son, and the other his father. To give the separate accounts of each of their escapes from Spain would be to enter on a kind of romance, and as to any part of their stories before the time of their becoming prisoners to the Spaniards, we could learn nothing distinctly about them, for they both were modest and reserved.

This scene was a great pleasure to most of us, and could not fail of recommending them to our regard and civility. They lived in great love and friendship with each other till the day of our engagement with the *Glorioso* : for here they discovered no alliance as before. The father throughout the whole engagement behaving with the greatest boldness and courage, as not to be outdone in either by any other person in the ship ; and the son being the only man who shewed any tokens of fear, he having absented himself and run, struck with terror, into the cock-pit for safety.

The next morning after the engagement the old father came into the cabin to the commodore, and throwing himself at his feet with much weeping, demanded from him that vengeance should be executed on his son, or that he himself might have liberty to put him to death. Mr. Walker told him that the Christian religion and the laws forbid him to take that power into his own

hands, and that though the law of arms might, upon regular proof and deliberate judgment, exercise that authority, yet, as his son was of a strange nation and not bound to fight for our country as the natives of it, humanity and mercy interposed, and stopped such a strict execution of the law. At this the old man seemed much to regret the tender pity of the commodore, which kept alive his shame ; he retired dissatisfied, and would never speak to his son or allow him to come into his presence, till the very last day of their departure from the ship.

Some hours after we now had dismissed the Algerine, Mahomet (for such was the father's name) again took an opportunity of throwing himself at the commodore's feet, and told him he wished that the British subjects had been brought aboard, "for then," says he, "in return of four men, I could have had the assurance to have asked you for my liberty." This greatly affected the commodore, as he would very gladly have granted it to him, but in the stricter attention to the other business he had never once thought of him. However, he promised him that he would take care to send him and his son to England, and from thence at his own expence have them carried to their own country. "O, sir," replies Mahomet, "the cup of your goodness will be mixed with too much bitterness if he be permitted to accompany me. Let him range the earth in exile from that country which must be dishonoured by his first foot-step on its sands." Mr. Walker here had time of talking to him, how much nobler the virtues are which continue forgiveness than they which satisfy revenge. "Yes," says the Turk, "our religion teaches forgiveness of an injury done to ourselves, but an injury done to our country, whereby the criminal dishonours the race of the prophet, ought not to be allowed to plead for any private pity, but suffer the laws of public condemnation, else the exalted sons of Mahomet may fall into a degeneracy of blood, and lose their rank on earth." The commodore still pressed the argument, that this accusation did not hold against the young man, as he was not fighting for his country, and that

though the English were his friends, yet they were a different people and Christians. "But," replies the father, "they fought against his enemies, and against the common enemy of mankind, slavery; and he who fights against this fights for his country." Mr. Walker here gave up the argument, but ordered in the young man, and endeavoured to introduce him to his father for a reconciliation. The old one turned from him and wept. "At last," says he, addressing only the commodore, "I have promised you not to kill him in your ship, and he shall live whilst he is yours." But to some of us who interfered in pressing the reconciliation, and spoke largely of Christian forgiveness, he said, "You may make a Christian, if you please, of my son. Try him; he'll become one." We could not help laughing at the bad compliment he paid us at the conclusion, though his meaning was certainly no other than that a bad man in any one circumstance of acting is to be supposed the most capable of doing other acts of meanness, as most apostacies in general are.

Four days after this we met with another large ship, which, when we came up with her, proved an Algerine admiral of fifty guns. Here a new and unexpected opportunity again offered for Mahomet's release. Upon coming so near to the ship as to discover of a certainty what she was, and before we spoke to her, the commodore again called Mahomet and his son to him, and told the father that if he promised to forgive his son he would now put them both aboard a ship of their own country, but if he continued to refuse such promise, he would put the son only aboard, or discover to the rest of his countrymen the whole affair, and the nature of his fault, thereby to take the power of punishment out of his hands. This seemed to sting the old man deeper than any thing preceding. The sense of his family shame being divulged brought blushes in his face, one succeeding another in a quick transition to red from paleness. He then promised, in his customary solemnity, that provided the affair was kept secret from his countrymen, he would forgive him, and pray to his prophet to shed a better influence on him for the future. They

then embraced, the young man all along behaving with great concern and modesty, no other ways pretending to an excuse than that the fight was a new manner to him. The old father then prayed for the commodore and all who depended on him, and promised that if ever he met him in his country he would tell the heavens his obligation.

After a strict enquiry was made in the other ship whether there were any British subjects on board, and none being any ways discovered, the commodore sent Mahomet and his son aboard. When the officer returned, who attended them, he told us that the moment the old man went aboard he was known by the admiral, who took him in his arms, and paid him great signs of compliment, by which we judged that he had been a person of greater rank and distinction than his modesty or prudence thought fit to discover to us. The Algerine admiral gave us the highest salute of his guns, which we returned, and so parted.

On the first of February we lost sight of the *Duke*, and made several false fires all night, none of which or any other of our signals were answered, on that or on the succeeding days, but on the eighth we met a Dutch ship which came from Lisbon, and informed us that the *Duke* was got in there before he sailed. This account made us easy in regard to the safety of the ship, but for the reason of his going from us we were still in the dark.

Though in this last part of our cruise we met not with the success we had been accustomed to hope for, yet we had no cause to lament our particular ill-luck in competition with the better fortune of others; for of several king's ships and letters of marque which we chased and came up with, not one as we could learn had within this time met with any prize. The Havannah fleet was all we could have expected, and that we missed by our being detained on account of the provisions sent to Faro, as before mentioned.

The time now came when the cruises of the other ships were expired, but not of the *King George*, for, as we had been ten weeks in harbour on account of our late repairing, that time could not be reckoned as part

of the eight months, which were to be run out at sea. Wherefore the commodore resolved to send the other ships home, and though determined himself to spin out the remainder of his cruise to the last, yet for the present he was not able to keep the seas. His bowsprit, which was repaired at Lagos-Bay, was again sprung, and we wanted an entire new main-mast, so that the ship was in great distress. Wherefore he found himself obliged to make once more for Lisbon to repair, contrary to his own inclinations and the positive directions of the letter sent to him at Faro, which expressly forbid him on any account whatever to put in there any more, the wind and weather not permitting him to make for any other port. As we were in such distress he made the other ships attend him to within four leagues of the rock of Lisbon, and then proceed on their way home to England.

The day before they parted us the commodore went on board each ship, and returned thanks to the officers and men for their good behaviour in general. The return on the other side in their compliments of taking leave had a natural sincerity in it above the common tokens of civility, which I shall not attempt to describe. March the 25th, the ships saluted us and set sail for England. We went into Lisbon.

In their way home the *Prince Frederick*, on the 27th, fell in with his majesty's ships the *Eagle* (Captain (now Admiral) Rodney, and the *Windsor*, Captain Bateman; who had been chased two days before by six large sail of Spanish men-of-war. Thus, if we did not succeed to our wishes in our late cruise, we were still fortunate beyond our knowledge in escaping so near a danger. And the *Princess Amelia* took a Dutchman which she had reasons to believe a prize, and therefore brought her into England. But she was afterwards on a trial at law set at large at her own costs. The two ships reached England about the tenth of April, 1748. The *Prince George* had been before sent home with our prize, the *Nympha*.

CHAPTER XIX

Some mismanagement of affairs relating to the fleet ; the former agents seize the ship King George ; most of the men go into foreign services ; some reflections thereon ; an offer of a command from the court of Portugal to Mr. Walker ; Mr. Walker's return to England in the Lisbon packet, and his preserving the same

WHEN the commodore got to Lisbon, he found there some alterations. Messrs. Mawman and Macey having drawn on the managers for the money advanced by them, their bills had been protested at London to a very considerable amount, occasioned by some dispute arising between the managers at home and them, and the manager whom we had left at Lisbon was gone to England in the *Duke*, Captain Denham, he having ordered him to wait for him for that purpose at a certain station, by his letters sent to him at Faro, as we have before-mentioned ; the late agents had arrested or attached the *Buen Consejo* in the port of Lisbon in part of payment of themselves as the only remedy in their power. To frustrate any like designs in them in regard to the rest of the fleet was the reason of the said then residing manager sending the letter to the commodore at Faro, forbidding him to return to Lisbon on any account whatever : thus we see also the sending round the provisions to Faro was not the act only of giddy play or want of skill. A new agent, one Mr. Atley, had been appointed ready to succeed into the place of the former, and everything relating to our affairs was in confusion. But the commodore, willing to keep matters together as well as he could, as also to perform the remainder of his cruise, consulted with his new agent, Mr. Atley, who took advice of his lawyer whether, if he refitted his ship, it could be seized on the same account by the said agents ; and being informed that it could not, for that no step whatever could be taken thereto without previous notice to the party sufficient to contest such claim, Mr. Atley

advanced money on the account of the managers, and compleated her for the sea. These repairs took about eight weeks, when the former agents, who had all this while judiciously lain quiet, seized also the *King George* by a stratagem of giving notice of the seizure to the commodore, in a paper thrust into his hand as a petition (when he was in a hurry of business) and made an absolute sale of her, by the form of public notice being read in the open streets, as the law for the sake of security directs, but which good intent is too often, as was the present case, subverted in the practice by reading the notice at a secret opportunity before two or three witnesses brought with them on purpose, as evidences thereof. By this stroke the commodore found his ship all at once slipt away from under him, the cruise frustrated, and all his men adrift in a foreign country, without money, no care had, or provision made for them, open-mouthed in their abuses against the managers, and many of them scarcely civil in their demands against him, as some of them now began to include him in the phrase of, *All rogues alike*.

If malicious report has laid the blame on Mr. Walker of this ship being seized and arrested from the managers, the truth of the fact here told, I hope, shews him intirely free of the charge ; as it was not only his intent to have secured her to his managers (whose friend sincerely he was) but had been more for his fame to have returned home successful in his own ship. If Messrs. Mawman and Macey were to blame it was not Mr. Walker's place to have commenced or taken on him any quarrel with them, who could even have arrested him for the whole debt, and which nothing hindered them from doing but their particular regard for him. Mr. Walker applied to Mr. Atley chiefly in behalf of the men, for money to carry them and himself home, but he now refused to advance any more, and of his own accord summoned the gentlemen of the factory together to raise a subscription for sending home their distressed countrymen. Mr. Walker could not but resent this proceeding as an affront on the managers, and attended the meeting, when the gentlemen wisely distinguished

that the present subjects of their consideration were all men of acquired fortune, and could not justly be set in the light of wanting charity. Mr. Atley, also, could not but understand some observations made by the company on the present proposal as a rebuke to his conduct, but endeavoured to excuse himself by still an higher affront on the managers, "that he was afraid to advance any more money to them, lest he should be served as the late agents were." Here Mr. Walker, who was still an advocate for his managers, could not help reprimanding him for his presumption, as he said he could speak from nothing else, he not having experienced any ill from them. When a gentleman of the factory then there, Mr. Horne, generously stood up and made an offer to Mr. Walker of any money which he might have occasion for on his own credit, which friendship he to this day continues, Mr. Walker made use of his beneficence and took up several sums, which he distributed among some of the officers and men who were willing to return home, to pay their passages to England, taking their receipts for the same. All which money Mr. Walker has since answered on his own account, and the men's receipts are part of his present disputed accounts with the managers. But notwithstanding his utmost endeavours and perswasion (as he now had no other power) many of them went into foreign services, thus disgusted at their own. Several staid in Portugal, but most went to Spain, some of whom set up a woollen manufactory there, to which business they had been bred; and others went into the king's public yards, to work at building and rigging ships. And one man in particular, as Mr. Walker has been since credibly informed, had an high salary fixt on him for life for his peculiar knowledge in this art and business.

It is very lamentable to see such numbers of our handicraft men employed in foreign states, especially that of Spain, to which I have been an eye-witness; where so large encouragements are offered as are sufficient to draw over all our people who have taken any umbrage, or met any misfortune in their own

country. And it is wonderful some legislative care is not taken in regard to this loss to our country. In the present instance certainly all proprietors of privateers ought to give bond, or be answerable to the public for the return of the hands taken out of the kingdom, the common casualties excepted, for there is greater danger in this light from the desertion of men out of privateers than in general out of king's ships ; because many of the former are broken tradesmen or ruined handicrafts, who flee from their homes for debt and hope to win fortune to them again by making a bold stroke at her ; who, if seduced away, or left destitute among our enemies, carry their trades and arts with them.

The common reason given abroad by our countrymen themselves for their deserting their mother-country is the ill policy of our government or laws in allowing gaols and prisons to be the equal punishment of debtors as felons, thieves, and perjurers, contrary to the better practice of almost every other country in the world. By which means, not only numbers flee away for fear of perpetual bondage in their boasted land of liberty, but also many bankrupts, who are denied their certificates at the will of perhaps one angry creditor, and others who take the benefits of the acts of insolvency, both of whom, after giving up their all they have in the world, are further impeded from setting up any business in their own country, by the impolitic scrupulousness or needless conscience of the law in making their future effects liable to their former creditors ; for if they, having nothing of their own, must set up again in credit, who will trust them with effects, which, before they can be turned into profit, are liable to be instantaneously seized for the debts due to another ? I own myself obliged for this argument to a pamphlet lately published, intitled " Observations on the present State of Bankrupts, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament," and well worthy the attention of the legislature.

The succeeding matter is another instance of the watchful attention which foreign nations lend to the merit of our countrymen, and shews how ready they are to offer them encouragement.

We have taken notice that Mr. Walker was known to the Court of Portugal. Being now left alone to shift for himself, as the affair was public over the whole place, and is at this day better known there than in any part of Great Britain, a gentleman of the Court paid him a visit one morning, and proposed to him, as an offer from the king, the command of one of his majesty's ships of war, with assurances of his said majesty's further notice and favour. Mr. Walker, not a little surprised at the proposal, only asked two days to consider it. The step he took for his direction in this affair was to go to Sir Benjamin Keene, and candidly laying open the whole matter to him, he asked his advice how to rule his conduct in regard to it. His excellency, with the greatest politeness, yet zeal for his country, addressed Mr. Walker on the subject to this purpose. "Sir," says he, "I see by your asking my advice that your inclination leans towards the acceptance, else you yourself could have given a direct answer to the proposal. It is true the offer is great, and must proceed from a particular good opinion his Portuguese majesty has of your merits. His future favours may constantly attend your deserts, and we may with reason suppose you in time, perhaps, admiral of his fleet. But then, Sir, you are to consider that Portugal is not your country, and you may be brought into a desperate dilemma by engaging yourself to it so essentially. For though the countries be now in friendship with each other, who knows, as the event of all things is in the hands of providence, how soon they may be at variance? Then how can you fight against your own country? or how can you in honour desert the prince, whose bounty and favours, gratitude may lay on you as bonds of obligation? But besides all this, there is, Sir, a deeper consideration. We will suppose that there is no likelihood of a war in your time between the different countries; or we will suppose that you enter into this service under the proviso of being free to desert it in case of such a rupture; where certainly every reasonable system will allow that your honour would engage you first to your own country. Yet, can

you conceive that you can command a ship or a fleet in this country and that other people will not learn from your knowledge and grow experienced under your practice ? Then consider, (as observation when once set in a right path may find its way to knowledge and perfection) how you may be an instrument of teaching another nation to be a competitor to your own, and that in its greatest and most peculiar art of war, the power of defence : What effusion of blood may in future ages proceed from so single a first cause ! Above all this, there is a perpetual restlessness in a man's breast when he is in the service of any foreign power : for when we are not with our country we cannot help fearing that we are against it ; the love of our country is an instinct, politically implanted by heaven within our natures. It is true, his Britannic majesty, in his great indulgence, has often given leave to his subjects to go into the service of other powers of peace, or in alliance with him : but under the reproof of better wisdom, I think it for the above reason a very impolitic practice. And in the present case there is one very particular objection. Your appearance in the Portuguese service may give umbrage to another power now in peace with us, I mean the Algerines, who are the declared enemies of the Portuguese and who, from a knowledge they have gained of you by so long a cruise in those parts, and by your having stopped so many of their ships, may, as they are a people quick in conceiving offence, resent to our Court at home, that a British subject should take a command from their enemies against them. Was your situation, Sir, in your own country uneasy to you, was your fortune low, or had your country used you with any cruelty or slight of your merits, you might have reasons to wish for a change. None of these, Sir, I find is the case. They are only wishes of preferment that charm your attention, and if you will trust in my interest, you shall not long go unnoticed by your country."

The argument which preceded the last genteel promise, had sufficiently fixed Mr. Walker's resolution. And when the gentleman paid his second visit for Mr.

Walker's answer, the proposal was, with great acknowledgments of the compliment, rejected. Whether Sir Benjamin Keene ever did write home to his friends in recommendation of Mr. Walker we cannot presume to say, but if he did, the other never heard of it. Which, however, as he never made any applications, might have never reached his knowledge.

At this time, also, Mr. Walker had intelligence of ill news at home, in the exact account of the loss of our other prize the *Nympha*, who had been sent to England under convoy of his majesty's ship the *Bedford*, Commodore Townshend; and who, after she had arrived safe at Portsmouth, in coming round from thence to London, lost sight of her convoy in the night, and thinking that she had shot a-head, shortened sail to wait for their coming up; whereas her convoy was a-head of her. After laying some hours under their mizen and foresail, they to their great surprize saw breakers under their lee, and notwithstanding all diligence was used to get her double reefed top-sail set, she was in the midst of the breakers before they could shoot her clear, and there was stranded. At day-break they found themselves under the cliffs of Beachy Head. The ship was insured for upwards of an hundred and three thousand pounds, and about thirty-five thousand pounds of her effects and cargo were saved to the underwriters, by the fidelity and activity of one of the managers, who immediately went down to the wreck. But it was said that there was a deficiency or loss of a large sum in the payment of the money insured, by the failure of some of the underwriters.

We here also met with the French merchant, whom we saw at the inn at Morlaix and who had introduced Mr. Walker to the gentleman to buy the vessel to transport us to England. He had failed in his trade in France, and was going with his wife and family to settle in the West Indies; but the ship in which he was a passenger, being met by an English privateer, was taken: he was brought in with her hither and was in extream poverty. Mr. Walker made a collection of money for him amongst his friends, who were very

liberal on the occasion, and set him up in necessaries so as to enable him to proceed to the West Indies without returning back a petitioner to France. He told us a most piteous story relating to his affairs, but at one circumstance we could not help smiling, tho' a scene of some horror. Of all the poor man's misfortunes his wife was the greatest. The matrimonial power was not divided in equal shares betwixt them : she, good woman, assumed the greater part both in judgment, command, and execution, whilst again every thought and act of hers submitted to a ruling passion she had for a young child in her arms. This was still more irksome to him under authority, as times of eating, drinking, study, amusement, and rest were interrupted by the under-duties attendant thereon, which fell to his share. In giving us a description of the engagement of the ship in which he was taken (as she had made an obstinate resistance) he told us that his wife would not consent to his deserting her side the whole time of the fight, but kept him with her in the cock-pit, where she sat weeping and wailing over the dear fondling, when a ball coming in at the side of the ship, on a sudden struck the child out of her arms and dashed it to pieces without doing the least hurt to her, or injuring any other person. The man, in describing the scene, and the surprize and looks of his wife at the loss of the child, could not help introducing an expressive action of humour that forced us to laugh at the tragedy, as at blunders in the most serious scenes. How far the relation may be depended on as a truth must be left to what credit the reader will give the French gentleman ; he scarcely could have invented it, nor had he need of any exaggeration by way of affecting pity.

Mr. Walker's presence being no longer needed at Lisbon, he set sail for England in the packet with several of his officers and about forty of the common men, who would not desert him to the very last, nor act in any thing but by his direction. There was certainly a Providence in this : for as the packet came out by the rock of Lisbon we saw at some distance a long built vessel of twenty guns, which we could discover full of

men, and which we at first imagined a Spanish *barquelongo*.¹ The captain of the packet was a very old gentleman, who was in the greatest consternation imaginable, and thought it most advisable to fly from them, in hopes that we might escape them in the night. This appeared contrary to the judgment of Mr. Walker, who saw by her over-hauling us so fast that she would be up with us before night, when some fatal accident might happen by the plunder of the enemy in the night, as by our running from them they would be more resolute in attacking us, which accident there was a probability of avoiding by encountering them by daylight, especially as the packet had sixteen guns, and as his additional hands were a strength to be depended on. Some of our men having dropped an expression, that if their captain had the command he would beat the long Spaniard out of the sea, two English merchants, who were on board, and had a great property in the ship, went to the captain of their own accord, and begged of him that he would leave the whole direction of their present distressed affairs to the conduct and experience of Mr. Walker, as an officer more versed in engagements of the kind. The old gentleman readily consented, and Mr. Walker took on himself the character of first lieutenant. We had not made long preparation before we discovered the ship to be an Algerine. This was an enemy no less to be dreaded, for though we were at peace with them, yet as the packet had Portuguese property on board they would have seized every shilling of the money (which was a very considerable sum) and carried us to Algiers ; and though we and the packet might afterwards have been delivered up, the affair might have been a matter of litigation and brought on very sad consequences to our disfavour.

As soon as Mr. Walker was assured of his enemy being other than was first imagined, he altered his design, and desiring the captain to retire to his own

¹ A *Barca longa* was a large undecked fishing or coasting vessel, with pole masts, propelled by lug sails and sweeps. The term was, however, very loosely applied by British seamen.

apartment, and there to take on him as much state as possible when the Algerine officer should come on board, he ordered all his own officers and men, with the other sailors on board, to quarters, and the marines to their small-arms. He ordered also his drums to beat to arms, and his band of music (all of whom he had with him) to strike up when they came within the hearing of the enemy, and ordering also a gun to be fired, we bore down directly on them with our ensign, jack, and pennant flying. When we came within hailing, Mr. Walker ordered them to hoist out their boat and send on board a lieutenant. They continued a long time in suspense, and returned no answer, apparently at a loss what to make of us, seeming other to them than they expected. He again hailed them, that if they did not send their boat with an officer on board he would sink them. They then asked what we were. He answered, a king's ship of war. Upon which they immediately hoisted out their boat and an officer came on board. The officer was conducted to the captain, who maintained his dignity extremely well, and asking the proper questions, dismissed him. He then returned aboard his own ship, but Mr. Walker immediately hailed them not to make sail till he gave orders. This could not but employ their attention from a more minute scrutiny, and confirm them in the opinion of our being a king's ship, had the lieutenant or attending boat seen anything to create a suspicion to the contrary, as it showed us in no great hurry of leaving them. Accordingly he soon gave the order, and they went off saluting us with five guns, which we returned with three, they one more for thanks.

This was the last gun Mr. Walker heard fired all that war, or indeed ever since at sea. How usefully to his country he might have been employed in the present, the reader, otherways acquainted with him, may, we hope, from those past scenes form some judgment, which his friends and they who are knowing of him, can better tell ; but as we are now come to the last scene of the last act of the present work, we will make haste to drop the curtain ; for the sword having

performed its part the play ought certainly to be done. Thus in the year 1748 Mr. Walker returned to England, preserving the packet, which did him the kind office of landing him in his own country. This very packet was taken the year following by an Algerine, who laid wait for her, and was carried into Algiers; by which all the property in her, to a very considerable amount, was irrecoverably lost to the owners. The packet and men were, indeed, afterwards restored; but not without much state altercation in which great time was lost.¹

We have now brought Mr. Walker back to land, to the same place from whence we launched him on our detail, with design to set his abilities to public view, and shew that he has been so long laid-by, through no defect in them; for I cannot but look on him as a sound and good ship shut up in a dock: and therefore we have been more particular in shewing him in several scenes which even deviated from the transactions of the sea. In which we hope to meet excuse; we having had a particular reason for so doing, as by some misrepresentations of those very actions by common fame his behaviour in them has been unjustly and with ill-nature reported. The reasons of his inforced inactivity are a distinct subject of a more private nature, into which I am by no means desirous of entering unless such justification of him, in private life also, may be hereafter thought necessary or asked by the public: it is a matter of which even he himself speaks with the greatest reluctance. Pity it is, that where there

¹ In March, 1749, the *Prince Frederick* postal packet, Lisbon to Falmouth, was captured by an Algerine corsair and taken to Algiers. She had £25,000 in specie on board, which was retained, but the crew were released. In consequence Admiral Keppel, Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, was sent in June to Algiers with the *Centurion* and other ships (Joshua Reynolds was on board as a guest). The negotiations were unsuccessful and the demand for restitution was waived. (Playfair, "Scourge of Christendom.") It is a curious fact that another *Prince Frederick*, also a packet, and stationed between Dover and Flushing, had been taken by French privateers in 1747 (Master of Lloyds to Corbett 12.9.1747.P.R.O. Adm. 1/3934).

is so little fault on one side the evil machinations of designing men who, from various principles and from a variety of purposes often get between friends, and set them at variance, should conjure up to the vision of jealousy any imaginary charges against him ; for he has been all his life abhorring of every mean or bad revenge ; though in his restrained circumstances he has been often obliged to yield his ear to the advice he never followed, and which he from his soul despised. I will be particular in mentioning the evil instigator or genius of ill that changed the paradise of his life into the fallen state, in which he has so long remained, but in which it is impossible for his worst enemies to make him miserable, as he never was seen through the whole course of it to be a single moment out of temper at his fate. The wicked author I mean is Mr. Goddard,¹ the aforesaid agent for the people. A powerful man, as of large fortune ! but I fear not to provoke him, as I have truths to oppose to every attempt of his resentment. For Mr. Walker never quarrelled with his managers till a dispute arose in their accounts on the large sums he had advanced to his officers and men for their use ; but was for many years after his arrival in England in their highest esteem. It certainly shews our want of sense to be induced by the artifices of others from our own reason and better knowledge of men and things, as it originally was want of virtue to be imposed on by the insinuation of the first tempter to vice ! For Mr. Walker, immediately upon his arrival, applied himself to works of greater importance, the *General British Fishery* ; and which he has to this day more at heart than any other business even of conquest. I mean not the British Herring fishery : tho' in that he was so far engaged as to propose a plan for it to the society, taken from the present practice of the Dutch in the like branch of trade and business, and even went to Holland on purpose to make himself more skilled in a knowledge of it ; but on his return home, found Party

¹ The references in the text to Walker's bankruptcy, and to his fishing projects are somewhat vague, and these matters have been specially dealt with in the Introduction.

contending for a majority in it, and Inexperience presiding at the board, fond of her own thoughts. So that he declined being concerned therein, and its success proves his foresight, and must confess that his judgment was the better rule to have been followed. The fishery, I mean, is the great treasure, which also annually returns to the borders of these kingdoms, but has not yet found the way of being brought a-shore, the cod, tusk, and ling fishery. In prosecuting of which he made a voyage from Norway all round the coast of Scotland, and at his own expense has taken charts and maps of all the soundings and every bank of that long tract of shore; and having purchased several ships, actually begun the work, to the establishment of many hundred of families in that country, who now enjoy from his pains and inventions a happy maintenance in a work encreasing every hour in value to his country. How far his country may pursue the advantage already sprung for her, and find the activity of his mind of use to her in peace as well as war, I leave to the political Providence of these countries to rule and determine. It is certain that in this undertaking the first expences, which all new works necessarily demand, had employed the greater part of his fortune before the returns could supply the deficiencies made in it: which accident must not even be charged to any rashness of conduct in him, but to a belief that his fortune was greater in the hands of his agents, by his aforesaid advance to the officers and men, than in account it is allowed to be. To these we may add some other losses in trade. Yet, to prove the merit of his plan, and good design for his country, he still enjoys the blessing of his own invention, with the continuance of the favours of his friends; his chief dependance being now owing to the friendship of a worthy gentleman, his name-sake, no relation, and in a foreign capacity to sea-affairs; who has provided him a ship in this very trade, and allows him a profit for his support. In the more general direction of which trade, if ever it be thought of merit deserving to be more publickly extended—as nothing would return the public

more recompence or reward—he certainly has the first right of asking to be employed. But this is a plan, which with his remarks and observations taken of the sea-coast, is sufficient, and may be worthy of a volume to itself.

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